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ABSTRACT

The racial attitudes of 83 children who live in a community which is approximately half black and half white are examined in this study. Income and education are similar for both races. The purpose of the study is twofold: to test a hypothesis about the effect of equal status interracial contact and to investigate parents' perception of their children's adaptation to interracial living. Two populations are examined; white children in grades three through six in the public school which is 81% black during the year studied (1974-75) and white children who live in the same community and attend the same grades in a variety of secular and religious private schools. The public school system is over 96% black at the elementary level during the year studied. The white children studied tend to perceive blacks as hard working, honest, intelligent, good neighbors, worthwhile companions and teachers who deserve a college education and to aspire to the Presidency of the United States. Perhaps the most startling and unexpected finding of this study is that the white children in the community are not clear who is black and who is white. There is evidence that indicates that race is less important in this community than elsewhere in the U.S. It may be that homogeneity in social class for blacks and whites is important in predicting the success of interracial communities. (Author/AM)

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INTERRACIAL LIVING AND THE RACIAL ATTITUDES OF WHITE CHILDREN IN GRADES 3 TO 6:: THE WHITE CHILD AS A MINORITY IN A BLACK SCHOOL SYSTEM

by

Barbara A. Libarkin

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of the National Catholic School of Social Service of the Catholic University of America in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Social Work

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION, STATEMENT OF PURPOSE, AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study examines the racial attitudes of eighty-three white children, grades three through six, who live in a community which is approximately half black and half white. Income and education are similar for both races. The purpose of the study is twofold: to test hypotheses about the effect of equal status interracial contact and to investigate parental perception of their children's adaptation to interracial living. Two populations were examined; white children in grades three through six in the public school which was 81 percent black during the year studied and white children who live in the same community and attend the same grades in a variety of secular and religious private schools. The public school system was over 96 percent black at the elementary level during the 1974-75 school year, the year studied.

The Schools and Racial Integration

The schools have been one important focus of public policy intended to bring American blacks into the full and

equal participation which our constitutional system guarantees every citizen. The Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity stated its position in 1970. "For more than a century, the goal of this Nation has been a just and open society - in which citizens associate freely as they wish, in which race and religion are no handicap, above all, a society in which each child is born with a real and equal chance for a productive and useful life. Achievement of that goal cannot be grounded upon a system of public education which perpetuates, for all times, the results of past discrimination."[1] In the same year, President Nixon articulated the official American position in favor of racial mixing in the schools, "We all know that desegregation is vital to quality education, not only from the standpoint of raising the achievement level of the disadvantaged, but also from the standpoint of helping all children achieve a broadbased human understanding that increasingly in essential in today's world."[2]

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[1]U. S. Senate, Toward Equal Educational Opportunity (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1974), p. 187.

[2]Speech by Richard Nixon on May 21, 1970 quoted in ibid., p. 190.

"The public schools of America are currently being called upon to accomplish perhaps the greatest social mission in the nation's history, full integration of minority groups into the society. Unquestionably, schools have borne the brunt of carrying out the intent of the constitution concerning equality of opportunity and realization of human potential. In this effort it has been confronted by the intertia of some social institutions such as the church and the hostility and opposition of others such as the family."[3]

Because of segregated residential patterns, the desegregation of public schools has been partly attempted by busing as mandated by the courts. The furor over busing, including advocacy by some of a constitutional amendment to prohibit busing for racial reasons and the disturbances over busing in Louisville, Kentucky and Boston, Massachusetts on the opening of the 1975-76 school year,[4] demonstrate that desegregation by this means is difficult. Moreover, many large cities are becoming increasingly black and have majority black school systems.

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[3]Thomas H. Buxton, Keith W. Prichard, Charles M. Bingham, Charles E. Jackson and Loutricia Talps, "Black and White Teachers and Desegregation," Integrated Education 12 (January-April 1974), p. 19.

[4]"The Busing Dilemma," Time Magazine, September 22, 1975, pp. 7-15.

At the beginning of the 1975 school year, the District of Columbia school system was ninety-six percent black at the elementary school level, grades one through six.[5] Detroit schools in all grades are 75.1 percent black in 1975;[6] those of Memphis 70.6 percent black.[7] As long ago as 1972, the public elementary school population of Chicago was 56 percent black, of Gary 64 percent, of Shreveport 96 percent, of St. Louis 69 percent, of Atlanta 84 percent.[7A]

If we hold to interracial education as a goal, then in many places the alternatives are busing across political boundaries and/or increased residential integration. After examining what is known about the impact of interracial schooling on children, Nancy St. John suggests, "perhaps it is time to reconsider the possibility of residential desegregation in our metropolitan areas. In the 1960's a vigorous fair housing movement gained momentum, and legislation against discrimination was enacted in many states and cities. If that

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[5]Personal communication, D. C. Board of Education, Division of Research.

[6]Detroit (Michigan) News, October 28, 1975.

[7]The Commercial Appeal (Memphis, Tennessee), November 10, 1975.

[7A]James Coleman, Sara D. Kelly, John A. Moore, Trends in School Segregation, 1968-73, (D. C., Urban Institute, 1975).

movement were revitalized, if legislative loopholes were tightened and the discriminatory practices of real estate and banking firms were eliminated, it might be possible for housing to share with the schools the responsibility of desegregating our society."[8] Busing across political boundaries involves the difficulties of cooperation between several political jurisdictions as well as very long distances to be traveled in some of our larger cities. Residential integration, if it is attainable, and the naturally integrated schools which arise therefrom seem a simpler solution.

The courts have recognized the close association between segregated housing and segregated schools. In discussing his decision on Hart vs. Community School Board of Brooklyn, Judge Jack B. Weinstein said, "Housing and school patterns feed on each other. The segregated schools discourage middle class whites from moving into the area and the segregated housing patterns lead to segregated schools."[9] He enjoined the public housing authority to take steps to desegregate housing in the Mark Twain school district.

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[8]Nancy St. John, School Desegregation: Outcomes for Children, (New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1975), p. 130.

[9]Jack B. Weinstein, "The Mark Twain School Decision," Integrated Education 12 (January-April 1974), p. 49.

Americans may be ready for wide spread residential integration. Hermalin and Farley found that, "The attitudinal receptivity and economic potential exist for extensive neighborhood residential integration, and these can achieve the dual goals of integrated schools and neighborhood schools."[10]

It has been assumed that children benefit from racially mixed education. Black children are assumed to be better able to compete in American society; white children to become less prejudiced, more accepting of blacks than Americans have been in the past. It is not clear whether or not these things actually happen or what the associated costs are. One difficulty has been the confusion of social class issues with race. A situation in which social class is similar for both races permits better focus on racial issues without the confusion of social class issues.

Prevalance of the Issue

The community organization in the community studied is one of seventy-four organizations with a pro-integration focus which have united together as National Neighbors[11] to promote interracial living. National Neighbors members were

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[10]Albert I. Hermalin and Reynolds Farley, "The Potential for Residential Integration in Cities and Suburbs," American Sociological Review 38 (October 1973), p. 595.

[11]National Neighbors, 17 Maplewood Mall, Philadelphia, PA 19144.

polled by letter in an attempt to determine the extent to which white children of primary age attend predominantly black schools. See letter in appendix. Fourteen organizations responded, ten of which report one or more schools in which there are a minority of white children. The schools are an important issue in the National Neighbors communities. In a report to the National Neighbors Board, Oralee Beach spoke to the issue of improving local school . . . an especially complicated undertaking that encompasses the perceived quality of them, flight from them, and extremely diverse assumptions, ideas and feelings about them. She pointed out that school population seldom if ever reflects the interracial character of our communities, which is a strong indicator that we must examine ourselves as we seek resolution of our public school dilemma."[12]

This community is unusual because the similar high socioeconomic status of blacks and whites is accompanied by white minority status in the public school. Nancy St. John writes that it is important to look at children in racially mixed schools where the children are of the same social class so

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[12]Neighbors 5 (Summer 1975), p. 2.

that racial variables are not confused with those of social class. But, "If the school is middle class, it will rarely be mostly black."[13] According to Rose Helper in her review of the literature, most integrated neighborhoods have few blacks.

Communities like this one may become increasingly common. The increasing blackness of many large cities implies that many white children will be minority children in their schools, at least while their communities are racially changing. As mentioned above, many school systems are already majority black at the elementary level. Thus, white children are already a minority in some schools and school systems and the number of such children is likely to increase.

In the past, communities often changed from completely white to completely black within a year or so. This community has been racially mixed for about 15 years and seems likely to continue to remain so. The existence of National Neighbors testifies to the recent desire and willingness of blacks and whites in sufficient numbers for at least some small success in keeping their communities multiracial. If public policy should change to encourage interracial residential living patterns, it is reasonable to assume that there

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[13]St. John, p. 12.

will be more situations in which white children live in communities with a substantial black population or in which white children are in the minority in their public schools. Public policy itself could have that effect as it is unfair to place the burden of integration on pioneer blacks. Any public policy to promote interracial communities would surely include white people moving into largely black communities.

Research Questions

The research questions are formulated for a situation in which blacks and whites are similar for social class; they are prosperous and well educated. Does interracial living affect racial attitude in the anticipated positive direction? How are the racial attitudes of white children affected by minority status in a school situation? Are age and sex significant factors in the formation of racial attitudes? For children in the same interracial community are racial attitudes affected by attendance at a predominantly black public school as compared to a predominantly white private school? How do white parents perceive their children's experiences in interracial living? These are some of the questions this study will try to answer for one community.

Relevance to Social Work

The implications of this study are important to social work both on the public policy and practice levels. Racial prejudice results in disorder and social unrest and is a negation of the American ideal of judging each man on his merits. More positive racial attitudes and the willingness of Americans to freely choose to associate across racial lines is a social good. Yet, for every good there is a cost. By understanding what is actually happening to children in interracial situations, social work practitioners, particularly in the schools and as community organizers, would be better able to maximize the benefits of interracial living while minimizing the costs to both blacks and whites. Such a cost-benefit analysis is complex. "School desegregation is a many sided phenomenon whose effects may be simultaneously beneficial to children in some respects and detrimental in other respects."[14] The subjective perceptions of parents about their children's adaptations to interracial living are crucial for devising programs which help parents work out perceived difficulties so that they do not flee to one race communities.

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[14]St. John, p. xi.

Social work is an eclectic field which uses the insights of all the social sciences to promote adaptive change. Where we do not have sufficient information, it is sometimes appropriate to do the research ourselves even though it is beyond the narrow focus of practice. Real or perceived costs associated with residential integration must be recognized and dealt with or the success of the effort will be compromised.

Helping children cope with the stresses of interracial living so that they may have its benefits is a challenge to our ability to help children learn to cope with stress productively. The challenge is to keep the right to be different while respecting differences. On this subject, Erik Erikson says, "For even within a wider identity, man meets man always in categories (be they adult and child, man and woman, employer and employee, leader and follower, majority and minority) and 'human' interrelations can truly be only the expression of divided function and the concrete overcoming of the specific ambivalence inherent in them: that is why I came to reformulate the Golden Rule as one that commands us always to act in such a way that the identities of both the actor and the one acted upon are enhanced."[15]

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[15]Erik H. Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis, (New York, W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1968), p. 316.

The Setting

The school district studied comprises one census tract in Washington, D. C. and that census tract is here referred to as the community. The houses in the community are large, substantial structures on tree lined streets. They range from comfortable frame to elaborate mansion-like houses. More than half of the homes were built before 1939, are attractive and well maintained. The median value of houses in the area in 1970 was $41,300. The sale price of houses has apparently increased substantially since then. There are a few apartment buildings located at the eastern boundary of the community which is a commercial street, but the overwhelming majority of homes, eighty-eight percent, are single family dwellings owned by the occupants. The median number of rooms in the houses is 7.4. The median number of people in owner occupied homes is 3.1, of renters 2.1.[16]

There are two main sections of the community, one east of a main thoroughfare and one to the west. The houses in

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[16]U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census for 1970, Block Statistics.

the eastern section had in 1970 a mean value of $36,280 and fifty-two percent of the population was black, while those in the western section had a mean value of $51,893 and forty-two percent of the population was black.[17]

The community began to change racially around 1960 with some attendent white flight. Two factors were probably most important in continuing to attract white families to the community; one, that well contructed, attractive housing was available at prices below costs elsewhere in the city or close-in suburbs, and two, the efforts of a community organization encompassing an area larger than the community which had a vigorous pro-integration focus in the early years of racial change. The community organization fought block busting and racial steering, advertised itself nationally, and maintained a free housing service to help families interested in living in an integrated community find housing in the area.

Today, white families buy from blacks and black families buy from whites. This situation meets the test for an integrated community: one in which whites and blacks are

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[17]Computed from Census of 1970, Block Statistics

currently moving into houses of comparable value.[18] Updated statistics on the racial composition of the community are not available, but this researcher's impression is that it has remained about the same. The public school, however, has become more black as shown in Table 10. This researcher could find no statistics for public vs. private school attendance by race. However, in 1970, seventy-two percent of the children, kindergarten through high school attended public schools; at the elementary level, seventy-nine percent were in public school.

There were only seventeen people identified as Spanish surnamed or Spanish speaking in the community during 1970. There are few of other races so that the non-black population is essentially white. The community is prosperous. Median family income in 1969 for all races was $21,129, with a mean of $24,459. Black median income was $20,788, a difference of less than two percent. Median years of education for blacks over twenty-five was 15.9, for the entire community 14.6. Eighty-three point five percent of the black population over

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[18]Rose Helper, "White People's Reactions to Having Black People as Neighbors: Current Patterns," Eric #ED 082 077, 1973, p. 43.

twenty-five finished high school vs. eight-one point eight percent of the entire community. Other parameters show a similar distribution. The median value of homes owned by blacks was $43,200 compared to $41,400 for the total population. For a comparison of the occupational distribution of the black and non-black population, see Table 12 in the appendix. Note that a larger percentage of blacks than others are professional. Cramer's V for the association of race and occupation is .149.

The self identified black population ranges in color from white to dark brown. There are a number of racially mixed marriages and white families who have adopted black and/or oriental children.

The School

In October 1974, the school system had 62,988 students in grades one through six. The elementary school population was at most just over three percent white. See Table 10 in the appendix.

The elementary school in the community is located approximately in the middle of the community so that, although the area it draws from is large, all children are within walking distance. The school includes grades prekindergarten through six. Many neighborhood families who later send their

children to private school use the prekindergarten and kindergarten. Because these grades are not representative of the school population in general, only grades one through six are included in the discussion of the school.

As of October 1974, there were 407 children in grades one through six in the school; 321 black, five Spanish surnamed, two Asians and seventy-nine children classified as other which includes whites. The one through six faculty consisted of fourteen classroom teachers of whom nine were black, five white. There were a number of special services teachers. They included a counselor, a speech therapist, a physical education teacher, a school based special services teacher, math and science specialists, a French teacher and a librarian. Most were black. The principal is black.

Black culture and history are emphasized in the school. All children participate in programs for Black History Week and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday. The birthdays of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. are school holidays and the birthdays of other black notables are commemorative days.

Summary

This study concerns the racial attitudes of eighty-three children who have completed grades three through six in a racially mixed community and the effect on these attitudes

of attendence at a predominantly black public school as compared to predominantly white private schools. Parental perceptions of the children's adaptations to a racially mixed community are also studied. The community in question is a prosperous one of single family homes in which the socioeconomic class of blacks and whites is similar. The public school system is almost completely black; the neighborhood elementary school is eighty-one percent black, grades one through six. Although this situation is unusual today, it is likely to be repeated in other large cities in the near future.

CHAPTER II

THE LITERATURE

Meyer Weinberg, author of several reviews of the literature on desegregation said in 1975, "Desegregation research is a new unique area of scholarly inquiry in that it has no literature. There are many individual studies, but no real body of principal findings of which the great mass of researchers are even aware . . ."[1] And further, "Very few studies afford insight into the behavior of white students under desegregation."[2] This appears to be the actual state of the literature on the racial attitudes of white grammar school children who are in contact with blacks according to this investigation's search. There was almost

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[1]Meyer Weinberg, "A Critique of Coleman," Integrated Education 13, (September-October 1975), p. 42.

[2]Meyer Weinberg, Desegregation Research: An Appraisal, (Bloomington, Indiana, Phi Delta Kappa, May 1970), p. 228.

nothing that I found on white children in schools where they are in the minority. Because of this the researcher will try to bring together theories from various of the social sciences and studies of children in interracial settings to put together a framework of ideas which might help explain the data and validate the instruments used.

The purpose of this study is twofold: to test hypotheses about the effect of equal status interracial contact on the attitudes of white children toward blacks and to investigate parental perceptions of the adaptation of their children to interracial living. The adaptation of white children to interracial living has been studied little and it is hoped that the interviews with parents will suggest variables for further investigation.

The literature review is divided into two parts. The first deals with the racial attitudes of white children and the hypotheses for this study derived from theory and research. The second part discusses those variables not previously covered which seem to contribute substantially to the formation of racial attitude and adaptation to interracial living. The second section forms the basis for the questionnaire used with parents of children studies. To follow the discussion, it is necessary to define basic terms, for example what is

meant by attitude, what constitutes a non-segregated setting and to explore whether exposure to dominant, American anti-black attitudes is necessarily universal in this country.

Attitude is generally conceived of as having three parts: the cognitive (beliefs), the affective (feelings), and the behaviosal (actions) or conative (mind set predisposing to action). For example, Erlich says, "An attitude is an inter-related set of propositions about an object or class of objects which are organized around cognitive, behavioral, and affective dimensions."[3] Some prefer a narrower definition. "Attitude, no matter how defined, is only one determinant of action."[4] In this scheme, beliefs and behavioral intentions are separate. Yet all agree that the affective, cognitive and behavioral aspects of favorable or unfavorable response to an object are closely intertwined. In Chapter III there will be a discussion of the intruments used to measure these aspects of attitude.

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[3]Howard J. Ehrlich, The Social Psychology of Prejudice, (New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1973), p. 4.

[4]John C. Brigham and Theodore A. Weissbach, editors, Racial Attitudes in America, (New York, Harper and Row, 1972), p. 79.

The literature on racial mixing in the schools is careful to distinguish between segregated, integrated and desegregated, sometimes called unsegregated. Segregated refers to groupings of one race. Desegregated or unsegregated groupings include several races who are in physical proximity. Integrated groupings are those in which several races are physically together in an atmosphere of mutual respect and acceptance. The community which is the topic of this paper is probably "integrated", but I will refer to it as interracial.

Much of the literature on prejudice and interracial attitudes attempts to correlate personality type, as it develops out of specific child rearing patterns, with prejudiced attitudes, ideas, feelings and behaviors. Such material is outside the scope of this paper.

Anti-black prejudice as a general attitude in the United States has been well documented, although there is evidence that such prejudice is lessening.[5] "American

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[5]Hazel Eriskine, "The Polls: Interracial Socializing", Public Opinion Quarterly 37, (Spring 1973).

children regardless of race or region can hardly escape exposure to the values implicit in pervasive practices"[6], for example, racial segregation and other effects of racism, according to Mary Ellen Goodman. For the country as a whole, this statement is probably still as true as when Goodman wrote it in the time of the de jure segregation. However, matters may well be different for white children twelve years old or less who have spent most or all of their lives in a prosperous interracial community in a city which is more than 70 percent black and which is administered by, and employs, numerous, highly visible black people. If, in addition, they attend a school which is 81 percent black in an almost totally black school system stressing black history and culture, their knowledge of current anti-black feeling may be quite limited. The exposure of white public school children in the community to anti-black attitudes may be limited even as compared to children in the same community who attend predominantly white schools outside of the community.

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[6]Mary Ellen Goodman, Race Awareness in Young Children, (New York, Collier Books, 1964, revised), p. 257.

Contact vs. Equal Status Contact

As long ago as 1929, Bruno Lasker wrote that "Lack of contact in itself may more fully impress upon the child the race attitudes of his elders than any positive saying or doing on their part."[7] It is widely assumed in the literature that contact in the classroom by itself is sufficient to improve racial attitudes, particularly those of whites toward blacks. John Mann in 1959 used sociometric choices for his study of attitude change of white college students after their first experience in interracial classrooms. He said, "These findings tend to support the overall hypothesis that interracial group contact reduces racial prejudice."[8] Thomas Pettigrew testified before the U. S. Senate Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity that "Adults who experienced as children integrated schooling differ from comparable whites in their greater willingness to reside in an interracial neighborhood, to have their children attend

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[7]Bruno Lasker, Race Attitudes in Children, (New York, Greenwood Press, 1968, copyrighted 1929), p. 115.

[8]John Mann, "The Relationship Between Cognitive, Affective, and Behavioral Aspects of Racial Prejudice, Journal of Social Psychology 49, (May 1959), p. 151.

interracial schools and to have black friends. For both black and white adults, then, integrated education did in fact prepare its product for interracial living as adults."[9] The former Commissioner of Education of Massachusetts, Dr. Neil Sullivan testified that "The payoff in school integration is in early childhood and primary schools . . ."[10] It is assumed that children will accept each other if there is no adult interference. "Children of different races tend to play and learn together very easily if adults do not put them off with their own fears and superstitions. The school is therefore, of great importance as the obvious instrument for achieving integration."[11]

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[9]U. S. Senate, p. 229.

[10]Ibid, p. 235.

[11]Sir Edward Boyle, British Minister of Education, Hansard, November 27, 1963, columns 437-444, as cited in Meyer Weinberg, Integrated Education, (Beverly Hills, California, The Glencoe Press, 1968), p. 336.

Studies have been done in racially mixed schools with varying results. Darchan Sachdeva found that personal contacts improved the racial attitudes of 7th and 8th graders in racially mixed schools.[12] Mary Ann Lachat determined that positive attitude associated with interracial schooling depended on teachers, community and equal status contact.[13] Sandra Koslin, et al. found that racially balanced classes produced the most positive racial attitudes as compared to segregated and racially unbalanced classrooms.[14] Robert Dentler and Constance Elkins found in one case that anti-black findings were most prominent in a naturally unsegregated setting and least prominent in a segregated white school of high socioeconomic class. These findings were accounted for

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[12]Darshan Sachdeva, "A Measurement of Changes in Interracial Student Attitudes in Desegregated Schools," Journal of Educational Research 66, (May-June 1973).

[13]Mary Ann Lachat, "A Description and Comparison of the Attitudes of White High School Seniors Toward Black Americans in Three Suburban High Schools: An All White, a Desegregated, and an Integrated High School," (Doctoral Dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1972).

[14]Sandra Koslin, Bertram Koslin, Richard Pargament, Harvey Waxman, "Classroom Racial Balance and Students Interracial Attitudes," Sociology of Education 45 (Fall 1972).

by the observation that the naturally unsegregated school was in an area of racial transition[15] in which the fleeing whites may have had heightened anti-black feelings. Low prejudice is often associated in the literature with high social class. Dorothy Singer, in his study of the effect on attitude of racially mixed schooling of fifth graders found that racial attitudes were generally affected in a positive direction and that, "Rather than judging in a global way, using stereotypes and negative images, the child in contact with members of a different racial group is able to differentiate among members of the group and see a whole range of characteristics and traits."[16]

In general, the scant literature on the effect on attitude of interracial contact is contradictory. "Positive, negative and mixed findings have been reported for all age levels, but positive findings are somewhat more frequently reported for younger white children and for older blacks."[17]

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[15]Robert A. Dentler and Constance Elkins, "Intergroup Attitudes, Academic Performance and Racial Composition," in Robert A. Dentler, Bernard Mackler, Mary Ellen Warshauer, The Urban R's (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1967).

[16]Dorothy Singer, "Interracial Attitudes of Negro and White 5th Grade Children in Segregated and Unsegregated Schools (Doctoral Dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1966), p. 110.

[17]St. John, p. 77.

"Findings are contradictory regardless of whether desegregation was 'natural', mandatory or voluntary."[18] On a common sense level, the close association of superordinate whites and subordinate blacks in the American South of the recent past demonstrates that contact itself is not sufficient for positve interracial attitudes.

More than contact is needed to improve racial attitudes and contact itself may have a positive or negative effect. "Equal status contact and the cooperative relations among different ethnic group members are necessary but by no means sufficient conditions for the development of more favorable ethnic attitudes."[19] What are sufficient conditions for the development of favorable ethnic attitudes? Yehuda Amir suggests, "Some of the favorable conditions which tend to reduce prejudice are (a) when there is equal status contact between members of the various ethnic groups, (b) when the contact is between members of a majority group and higher

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[18]Ibid, p. 76.

[19]Harold Proshansky, "The Development of Intergroup Attitudes," in Lois Wladis Hoffman and Martin L. Hoffman, editors, Review of Child Development Research, (New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1966), p. 353.

status members of a minority group, (c) when an 'authority' and/or the social climate are in favor of and promote the intergroup contact, (d) when the contact is of an intimate rather than a casual nature, (e) when the ethnic intergroup contact is pleasant and rewarding, (f) when members of both groups in the particular contact situation interact in functionally important activities or develop common goals or superordinate goals that are higher ranking in importance than the individual goals of each of the groups."[20]

Because of the nature of residential segregation in the United States, most contact between blacks and whites tends to be in highly structured, limited situations where behavior is clearly prescribed. "These situational dimensions minimize the likelihood of attitude change and restrict its generality when it occurs. Where situational objectives are relatively unstructured, status-role relations equalized or vague, and activities diffuse, behavior is personalized. Under such conditions, particularly if they are repetitive or constant, the likelihood of favorable attitude development and its transfer across situations is maximized."[21]

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[20]Yehuda Amir, "Contact Hypothesis in Ethnic Relations," in John Brigham and Theodore A. Weissbach, editors, Racial Attitudes in America, (New York, Harper and Row, 1972), p. 246.

[21]Ehrlich, p. 137.

Gordon Allport believes that "Prejudice (unless deeply rooted in the character structure of the individual) may be reduced by equal status contacts between majority and minority groups in pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom, or local atmosphere), and provided it is of the sort that leads to the perception of common humanity between members of the group."[22] Judith Porter agrees, "Although the relation is highly complex, equal status contact which minimizes conflict and stresses common goals is related to a reduction of negative stereotypes."[23]

It is a mistake to assume equal status contact among children in schools where racial divisions coincide with social class divisions, where whites are more prosperous than blacks. The children can see an obvious coincidence

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[22]Gordon Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, (Cambridge, Mass., Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1954), p. 31.

[23]Judith Porter, Black Child, White Child: The Development of Racial Attitudes, (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 11.

of low academic achievement with lower social class and may respond to it by assuming blackness signifies academic inferiority and other traits perceived as undesirable. The association between social class and school achievement is well documented.[24]

Little of the research on the effect of interracial classrooms on children controls for social class. Such control is probably essential according to John Brigham. When he asked subjects to ascribe traits to blacks and whites for whom social class was given, "It was found that the resulting characterizations varied more as a function of class than of race."[25] Judith Porter, who tried to control for social class in Black Child, White Child, writes, "Social class is a factor which is rarely held constant in this research and this is one variable that can theoretically be expected to affect responses greatly among both black and white children."[26] She concluded that based on the data of

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[24]For example, see James S. Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity, (Washington, D.C., HEW, 1966).

[25]John C. Brigham, "Ethnic Stereotypes," Psychological Bulletin 76, (January 1971), p. 21.

[26]Judith Porter, p. 3.

her study of preschool children, "[Social] class homogeneity across both races seems more advisable in terms of positive effects on racial attitudes."[27] Nancy St. John recognizes that in studies of racial attitudes of children in contact with children of another race and social class, it is difficult to separate the effect of attitudes related to social class and of those related to race. "Since a choice does currently exist between desegregation that crosses social class barriers and desegregation that does not, the analytic separation of these two types of desegregation is important."[28] Dentler and Elkins wrote, "We concluded that the ecology of ethnic and status distribution of students plays a noteworthy yet indirect role in affecting academic as well as social learning . . ."[29]

Marginal Perspective Hypothesis

The marginal person is one who lieves on the edges of two cultures and does not participate fully in either.[30A]

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[27]Ibid, p. 216.

[28]St. John, p. 12.

[29]Dentler and Elkins, p. 99.

[30A]Robert E. Parks, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man", The American Journal of Sociology, (33, Number 6).

The public school children in the community live in a largely black world, yet are not completely part of it because they are not black. Nor do they belong fully to the American white world which prefers not to live among blacks. Although such marginal status may be difficult, it can be transcended. "The marginal man is a key personality in the contacts of cultures. It is in his mind that the cultures come together, conflict, and eventually work out some kind of mutual adjustment and interpenetration. He is the crucible of culture fusion."[30] The marginal status of the white children in the public school is reinforced by the fact that they come from many different cultural and religious backgrounds so that they do not have common bond of ethnic identity other than whiteness. Because of their whiteness they do not fully participate in black culture of the school.

According to social psychological theory, marginal status results in a more favorable response to another ethnic group. Ehrlich formulates this as the principle of marginal perspective. "Marginal persons manifest more favorable attitudes toward ethnic targets than do the more socially integrated."[31]

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[30]Everett V. Stonequist, The Marginal Man, (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), p. 221.

[31]Ehrlich, p. 167.

This paper is written about a community in which the participating families are self-selected for willingness to live in an interracial community. Most families moved in after there were at least a few resident black families. Many were attracted to the community by its interracial character. Black and white families are distributed throughout the community. As demonstrated in Chapter I, the races are similar in social class. It is likely that children in the community public school have more extensive community contacts and are least likely to be exposed to anti-black prejudice outside the community. In the school they experience marginal status as a racial minority.

Hypothesis I: The white children in the community public school have more positive attitudes toward blacks than the private school children.

Age and Attitude

Again the literature is sparse about the correlation of racial attitude and age. John Brigham says, "The existence of a general anti-black orientation among many whites has been well documented, but evidence is contradictory as to whether white ethnic attitudes tend to become more or less favorable across school years."[32] St. John reports

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[32]John C. Brigham, "Views of Black and White Children Concerning the Distribution of Personality Characteristics," Journal of Personality 2, (March 1974), p. 144.

contradictory findings, "But positive findings are somewhat more frequently reported for younger whites . . . ."[33] Ehrlich reports that in general negative stereotypes increase with age.[34] Criswell found that "The fifth grade level stands out as the point at which mutual withdrawal of the races crystallizes as the characteristic group pattern"[35] Edward Palmer found that white four year olds in an interracial community seemed to prefer blacks, but white eight year olds did not.[36]

This raises the question of how attitudes develop in children. There are many forces which shape the way in which the stage specific abilities and thought patterns of children evolve in a given culture. Among these are the history of the culture, the parameters of the present moment, and cultural and social institutions. All of the forces that

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[33]St. John, p. 77.

[34]Ehrlich, pp. 114-121.

[35]Joan Henning Criswell Ph.D, "A Sociometric Study of Racial Cleavage in the Classroom," Archives of Psychology 235, (January 1939), p. 70.

[36]Edward L. Palmer, "Color Prejudice in Children as a Function of Race, Age and Residence Neighborhood," American Psychological Association 81st Annual Convention, Vol. 8, Part 1, p. 226.

impinge on the child are reworked by him into a unique, everchanging constellation determined by the child's biological make-up, his life experiences and his own personality.

"Cultural patterns are institutionalized in the social structure and help organize the behavior of adult members of society. These cultural standards are internalized in personality through the process of socialization."[37] As implied above, the effect of socialization varies among individuals depending on individual characteristics. The dominant white American attitude toward blacks certainly impinges on the white children in the community studied, although its effect may be less strong than it would be in other parts of the country. Race however, remains a salient issue as it is everywhere in the U. S. where there is a substantial black population. The families' conscious choice of a racially mixed community shows this. Even the organization's focus on maintaining an integrated community community/demonstrates the salience of the issue.

Racial awareness comes early in the United States. Children by age five can generally distinguish between black and white with affect attached to race. Judith Porter states, "It appears that the first five years of life are important,

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[37]Porter, p. 10.

though not conclusive for the development of racial attitudes. A directional set is given to the mind during the preschool years by the reaction of parents in terms of direct instruction or behavioral cues; the comment of peers; exposure to stereotypes in mass media and literauture; spontaneous color associations; and observation of role occupancy. The processes of selective perception, reinforcement, subsidiation to self image, and cognitive closure help give these attitudes their final form as the child grows older."[38] Gordon Allport states the law of subsidiation as, "There will be a tendency to acquire ethnic attitudes to conform to whatever dominant frame of value the individual has." Or "There will be a tendency to acquire ethnic attitudes to conform to whatever self image the individual has."[39]

The children in this study are, with one exception, between eight and twelve years old. According to Piaget, they are in the stage of concrete operations, the time in which egocentric thinking gives way to more rational, although concrete throught processes. By seven children believe in the invariable characteristics of an object; in this case that color is a permanent characteristic. Children

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[38]Porter, p. 21.

[39]Allport, p. 317.

at this age think in categories. Thinking is still intuitive to some degree; complete, logical thought does not develop until eleven or later. Some of the characteristics of this period remain part of adult thought processes. "No one can avoid the processes of prejudging and generalizing, of course, since the human mind must think with the aid of concepts or categories whose content resembles an oversimplification of the world of experience. But racial prejudices add to these ethnic categorizations an additional component of rigidity, error and hostility."[40]

Most writers recognize stages in the development of racial attitude paralleling cognitive development. In 1929, Bruno Lasker described these as fear for pre-schoolers, teasing and combativeness in early school years, mild derision and condescension by late primary age and strong dislike mitigated by idealism during adolescence. Allport describes the stages as pregeneralized, when the child has vague preferences, but does not understand why; the overgeneralized stage reached by fourth grade when white children express total verbal rejection of blacks; and the state of differentiation reached by tenth or eleventh grade when adult racial attitudes are approximated in the sense that blacks as a group are rejected, but some individual blacks are accepted.

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[40]Porter, p. 9.

Judith Porter found that children at nursery school age did appear to have pregeneralized racial preferences, but that rejection and differentiation also occurred. "It should be noted, that although attitudes have developed in sophistication by kindergarten age, they do not seem to affect the child's actual behavior. His play patterns are situationally determined."[41]

It is the contention of this paper that minority status combined with equal status contact may modify the stage of rejection. However. the general pattern of increasing rejection with age probably remains the same. In the community studied, it seems that racial attitude would become more negative with increasing age, in part because as the child grows older he moves more and more out of the community and is exposed to dominant American anti-black attitudes.

Hypothesis 2: Racial attitude will become more negative with age for the children in the community.

Playmate Choice, Sex, and Attitude

Friendships help shape the intellectual growth of children, particularly in the age group studied. "Peer interaction becomes important with respect to cognitive

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[41]Ibid, p. 174.

development when the child becomes able to assimilate the viewpoints of others when they differ from his own. This comes about when the egocentrism of preoperational thought is dispelled around age six or seven. Accordingly, peer interactions are of cognitive importance from the time the child enters school. Children learn to evaluate their egocentric thoughts by comparing them to the thoughts of others . . . . Thus peer interactions can be a fruitful means of stimulating natural cognitive conflicts that can generate accommodations to the views of others and evaluations of one's own concepts."[42]

Radke and Trager found that children who experienced seemingly happy play relationships with black children continued to hold negative stereotypes based on race when blacks were of lower social class than whites. "For the development of scientific concepts of race and democratic attitudes toward race, education cannot reply soely on congenial play relations among children, as many people assume. Play situations may

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[42]Barry J. Wadsworth, Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Development, (New York, David McKay Co., Inc., 1971), p. 127.

be congenial and yet perceptions of Negroes and whites as a group may remain as role stereotyped and as inferior and superior."[43]

According to St. John, "Whether sociometric or observed behavior in the classroom corresponds with expressed attitudes toward the other race has been virtually ignored in desegregation research . . . ."[44] Judith Porter found for five year olds that "Factors like sex, personality and play style seem to be more salient determinants of friendship than race does."[45] Yet, there is something important in Sir Arthur Boyle's observation that, "We shall achieve integration in this country [England] when the children of different races attend one another's birthday parties in their homes as a matter of course."[46]

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[43]Marian J. Radke and Helen G. Trager, "Children's Perceptions of the Social Roles of Negroes and Whites," in Alan R. Brown, editor, Prejudice in Children, (Springfield, Ill., Charles C. Thomas, 1972), p. 73.

[44]St. John, p. 72.

[45]Judith Porter, p. 168.

[46]Sir Edward Boyle, British Minister of Education, Hansard, November 27, 1963, columns 437-444, as cited in Meyer Weinberg, Integrated Education, (Beverly Hills, California, The Glencoe Press, 1968), p. 336.

Sex seems to be an important variable in both attitude and playmate choice. Dorothy Singer found that girls are in general more willing than boys to be in contact with blacks. The more exposure they had to blacks, the more favorable was their attitude toward contact.[47] Dentler and Elkins found that "Girls at all age levels were more uniformly accepting of diverse ethnic groups than were boys. Similarly, students attending schools located in relatively higher income and occupational census tracts were significantly more accepting than those from a lower income tract." Koslin, et. al. found that "Boys are more pro-black in unbalanced classes, while girls are more pro-black in balanced classrooms."[48] St. John states that, "Among whites it appears to be boys who feel most threatened by desegregation, not only are their attitudes more prejudiced than those of white girls, but they become more in group in a minority group situation."[49]

In 1939, Criswell studied the sociometric choices of children in lower middle class schools ranging from nine to ninety-five percent black. She found that among white children

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[47]Dentler and Elkins, p. 67.

[48]Koslin et. al., p. 396.

[49]St. John, p. 78.

white choices increased in fifth grade. White choices were more frequent below fifth grade in majority black schools. White boys and girls chose whites most frequently when they were in a minority situation. Koslin et. al. found that, "Classroom balance interacts with sex to affect sociometric choice. Boys nominate a higher proportion of blacks in unbalanced classrooms than in balanced. For girls, the opposite is true; they name more blacks in balanced than in unbalanced classrooms."[50]

In a situation in which both black and white playmates are available, it seems reasonable to assume that the extent to which white children have black playmates would correlate positively with their racial attitudes.

Hypothesis 3: The more black playmates a child has, the more positive are his racial attitudes.

Hypothesis 4: Girls have more positive attitudes about blacks than boys.

The preceding discussion influenced both hypothesis formation and the construction of the questionnaire. The following discussion is the basis for the construction of part of the questionnaire.

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[50]Koslin, et. al., p. 396.

Parental Attitudes

Apparently highly educated people are less prejudiced. "Of one thingswe are sure: all relevant investigations show that on the average prejudice declines with higher education," according to Gordon Allport.[51] "Whites most willing to accept desegregation are those who are richer and better educated."[52] While the general trend of the literature is in this direction, there is some disagreement. Charles Stember claims that most tests are not sensitive enough to measure prejudice among the well educated who are moreover, the most likely to avoid interracial contact.[53] The chapter on the data will reveal that the white families studied are generally well educated people, willing to live in an interracial community and who, in the context of the country, probably have positive racial attitudes.

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[51]Gordon Allport, "Prejudice: Is It Societal or Personal?", in John C. Brigham and Theodore A. Weissbach, editors, Racial Attitudes in America, (New York, Harper and Row, 1972), p. 173.

[52]Luther Mumford, "White Flight from Desegregation in Mississippi," Integrated Education 11, (May-June 1973), p. 22.

[53]Charles Stember, Education and Attitude Change, (New York, Institute of Human Relations Press, 1961).

Gordon Allport asks, "How is prejudice learned? "The home influence has priority, and . . . the child has excellent reasons for adopting his ethnic attitudes read made from his parents."[54] Ehrlich describes the transmission of attitudes from parent to child by the following means. Parents may state directly their attitudes to their children. They usually control with whom their children come in contact and they shape their children's responses to others by means of their childrearing practices. "Parents establish a life style through which ethclass-specific selections of activities and friends come to be learned and accepted by their children."[55] Ehrlich reports that attitude research substantiates a high correlation between the attitudes of parents and children. Sex of parent does not seem to be an important factor. "No particular parent-child pair displays significantly more resemblance than any other-thus ruling out hypotheses of same-sex and cross-sex conceptions of development . . . ."[56]

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[54]Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, p. 31.

[55]Ehrlich, p. 123.

[56]Ibid, p. 122.

Minority Status

Porter found that white boys in predominantly black schools have low self esteem. She says, "Occupants of statuses characterized by marginality or status discrepancy are particularly likely to compare themselves socially with the more successful group."[57] In contrast, Gloria Powell found that white self esteem for children in grades seven through twelve as measured by the Tennessee Self Concept Scale was not affected by the racial mix of the school attended.[58] Nancy St. John notes that, "The point should be made, however, that isolated white children in predominantly black schools are as liable to social threat and constricting fear as black pioneers in predominantly white schools."[59] "Desegregation exposes minority group [meaning minority of a given race in a given school] pupils to cultural marginality and confusion as to their own identity, unless the staff is interracial, unless the

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[57]Porter

[58]Gloria Powell, Black Monday's Children, (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973).

[59]St. John, p. 106.

curriculum recognizes the minority group culture, and unless there is opportunity for choice between assimilation and pluralism."[60]

It would be anticipated that white children in a largely black school setting who live in an interracial neighborhood will make some adaptations to black culture, as there is "probably little difference between the norms of the two groups of children, once social class is controlled, . . ."[61] Such adaptations probably have the effect of cuing others that one belongs to the group. Some of the easiest for parents to report might be speech and mannerisms generally assumed to be black. It is obvious that speech patterns vary from one cultural group to another whether the division is region, race or ethnic origin. Bodily movements and postures show similar variation. "One nods, shakes, pivots, bounces; and all are meaningful. But all hold different meanings when combined with different facial expressions and in different cultural situations."[62]

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[60]Ibid, p. 108.

[61]Ibid, p. 105.

[62]Julius Fast, Body Language, (New York, Pocket Books, 1971), p. 76.

Differential association theory holds that the larger the group, in this case blacks, the more likely all will adopt that group's norms. According to reference group theory, this is not a simple relation. The reward structure in the community and the larger society will influence the degree to which these adaptations take place. In general, the younger the child, the more he is directly influenced by the community as compared to the larger society. "The larger the percentage of black children in a school, the more likely that white children will adopt their attitudes and behaviors."[63]

Summary

The purpose of this study is twofold: to test hypotheses about the effect of equal status interracial contact on the attitudes of white children toward blacks and to investigate parental perceptions of the adaptation of their children to interracial living. There has been little work done on the attitudes of white primary age children toward blacks or on white children in a minority situation. The equal status contact hypothesis and marginal perspective

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[63]St. John, p. 105.

hypothesis were examined to predict the direction of the data. Research findings on children in interracial settings were discussed. The following hypotheses were derived.

Hypothesis 1: The white children in the community public school have more positive racial attitudes than the private school children.

Hypothesis 2: Racial attitude becomes more negative with age for children in the community.

Hypothesis 3: The more black playmates a white child has, the more positive are his racial attitudes.

Hypothesis 4: Girls have more positive attitudes toward blacks than boys.

Parental attitude as a factor in the attitudes of children and adaptation to minority status were discussed.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

This study is ex post facto in the sense that the researcher does not manipulate the independent variables.

Population and Sampling Methods

The target population was all white children in grades three through six in the public elementary school in the community studied and a matched sample by grade, sex and age of white children who lived in the same school district, but attended private school. Sixty-one families with eighty-three children were interviewed. The researcher is white and lives in the community. One of her children is included in the public school sample.

The list of names of the forty-five children in the public school group was developed by listing the white children known by the researcher in the target grades. After these children and their parents were interviewed, the parents were asked to name other white children in their children's grades and white children from the community who attended private school. Class pictures had been taken during the 1974-75 school year and the list was checked against these pictures whenever possible.

Several white children whose family identification is black were excluded as were children of Latin American background. Two white girls and one white boy in sixth grade and one white girl in the third grade were excluded because they had lived outside of the community during the target school year.

The public school parents were very interested in the study and generally eager to participate. Two families were concerned that the study might cause undesirable racial awareness in their children, but on reflection decided that the study was important enough to take the risk. One of the parents wanted to see the attitude scale before her child responded to it, but was refused because this might introduce extraneous variance. After the interview, she was given a copy. All public school parents cooperated, including some who were in the process of moving from the community and one family which was interviewed in its new home far from the city. In one family, one child participated and the second refused to do so at first. Three months later, the child agreed to participate and finished the attitude scale. The mother, who was interviewed about the first child, refused to be interviewed again, accounting for the only missing questionnaire data.

The list of thirty-eight children in the private school sample was developed by approaching white families who have children in the target grades in private schools. After completing the work with these families, parents were asked to name other white private school children.

A list from one private school, heavily attended by children in the community was also used. Except for one child, as far as could be determined, the name of every white family in the public school district who had children in the target grades in private schools was included. There is no good check on this.

It soon became apparent that the number of white private school children inthe community was not sufficient to match the two samples as planned. Many private school parents were interested in the study and eager to participate, but in general there was less interest among this group compared to the public school group. Eight private school families refused to participate. These families had at least twelve children in the target grades. Reasons for refusal and length of time in the community are contained in Table 13. At least families A, B and H have had children in the community public school, either the target children or their siblings.

As of November 1975, one family in the study has moved from the community, although the child remains in the public school in the community. Six families have moved outside of the city. There were nine interracial families included in the study. Seven families had black children. Two families contained oriental children. In one family, a sibling had married a black person. One mother was engaged to a black man.

Data Collection

Each family was called and the purpose of the study and the confidentiality of all responses were explained. If a parent agreed to participate, he was asked to tell his child that the researcher was interested in how children think without mentioning race. Many parents secured their child's agreement before agreeing to participate. As noted in Table 13, one child refused, although her mother was eager to participate. Because many parents indicated that they would like to see their children's responses, it was explained in the initial call that each child is promised that his responses are confidential, but that the parents could see the results in aggregate in the completed thesis. Whenever possible, an appointment was made when both parents could be present. In three cases, the mother was the only parent living in the home. In a total of 11 families, representing 12 children, only one parent was interviewed, 10 mothers and one father. When there was a step-parent, he or she was interviewed with the natural parent.

Data were collected from July 1 to September 31, 1975. Some children were seen on a different day than their parents. A few children were interviewed in the researchers home. In general, the children were seen in their homes immediately before their parents were interviewed. Each child was seen separately in a private place in the house, often the child's bedroom. One child who was going directly from camp to another state was interviewed at camp outside of

the city. Siblings were interviewed consecutively. In two cases, this was not possible. One child was sleeping and a second had gone out unexpectedly. As siblings probably discussed the research experience, this was a possible source of extraneous variance.

A copy of the informed consent, shown in the appendix, was given before each interview. Parents were interviewed and the interview taped. Occasionally the children wanted to join us. This was left up to the parents, provided the parents could agree that they felt they could respond freely with their children present. Four children participated in the interviews and it is clear from the tapes that the parents in these cases felt comfortable about expressing both negative and positive feelings. In two cases, older siblings were present at the interview. One family refused to allow the interview to be taped.

Pretest

The research and data collection plan was tried out on four children from three families in grades three through six who live in an adjacent community where white children are in the minority in the public schools they attend. The pretest was important in the refinement of the attitude scale and questionnaire, and the order in which playmate choice and racial identification were asked. It also demonstrated that the instruments were suitable for children in this age group and easy to administer.

Instruments will be discussed in the order that the data were collected as well as the hypotheses they were designed to test. The

session with each child begain with my stating that nothing we talked about would be repeated to anyone. Three instruments were used. Children were asked to name the four children they play with the most and identify them racially. An attitude scale was administered to each child. The parents responded to a questionnaire.

Playmate Choice

Hypothesis 3: The more black playmates a white child has, the more positive are his attitudes toward blacks.

In order to test this hypothesis on the behavioral aspect of attitude, each child was asked to name the four children he plays with most. This was done after asking identifying information; month and year of birth and school grade just completed. When the attitude scale was completed, the child was asked to identify his playmates by race, to write black (b) or white (w) next to the name. If as planned, the children did not know the study concerned race, there should have been no bias in reporting playmates. Racial identification was left for last so as not to bias the attitude scale. Many children described their playmates as black, brown, and tan. They were asked to decide whether the child is black or white. There were a number of misidentifications which will be reported in the section on results. These were found either because I know the child personally or because of the child's request for help. It had not been intended to gather data on racial identification.

Some children play with fewer than four children during the summer. These children were instructed to add children they play with during the school year. Two girls named only three children.

Although direct observation is surely a better measure, self report probably yields reliable results. This is not a sociometric test in the strictest sense, but it does share elements in common with sociometry. "A sociometric test is a measure for determining the degree to which individuals are accepted into a group . . . and for disclosing the structure of the group itself."[1] Addressing the question of validity and reliability, Northway says that if the individual answers honestly, his responses are both valid and reliable. Playmates named will probably be rather unstable over time as are the sociometric choices of children.

Attitude Scale

The attitude scale was used to est the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: The white children in the community public school have more positive racial attitudes than the private school children.

Hypothesis 2: Racial attitude becomes more negative with age for children in the community.

Hypothesis 4: Girls have more positive attitudes about blacks than boys.

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[1]Mary L. Northway, A Primer of Sociometry, (Toronto, Canada, University of Toronto Press, 1953), p. 1.

These hypotheses deal with the cognitive, affective and conative aspects of attitude. The scale used is an adaptation of the Gough, Harris, Martin and Edwards Prejudice Index, or GHME Index.[2] Dr. Gough was kind enough to grant permission for use of the index in this research. The index is a series of statements to which children respond by agreeing or disagreeing. The first child interviewed for the pretest said immediately that he could not agree or disagree as some of the statements were true or untrue for some blacks, but not for all. Based on the pretest experience a four position scale was used: agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree and disagree, making the index into a summated rating scale. Statements are both positive and negative. For positive statements 4 is assigned to agree, 3 to mostly agree, 2 to mostly disagree and 1 to disagree. For negative statements, the numbers are assigned in reverse order.

Because it was anticipated that this population would have generally positive racial attitudes, one statement was added to make the scale more discriminating, "I would be willing to marry one of them when I grow up." Through a typing error, one statement was left off the index, "I do not like them." This error was discovered too late to correct. However,

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[2]Harrison G. Gough, Dale B. Harris, William E. Martin, and Marcia Edwards, "Children's Ethnic Attitudes: 1. Relationship to Certain Personality Factors, Child Development 21, (June 1950).

as this group has generally positive attitudes, the statement probably would not add much to variability. A copy of the modified index is appended.

The index was developed for children in third through sixth grade. Items were rated as favorable or unfavorable by the children who participated in the development of the index. All items were readily understood by the children. "In addition, the final scale of eighteen items was developed as a comprehensive item analysis differentiating between high and low scorers on the scale."[3] The design of the index is consistent with the tendency of children in this age group to over-generalize. The index satisfies the requirements for face, or content, validity. The authors of the GMHE Index report a split half reliability of over .80 even at the 3rd grade level where children might have reading problems. The item added on intermarriage is one commonly used in social distance scales for children.

The validity of the GHME Index and the statement on intermarriage are enhanced because the statements describe events which are likely to be within the experience of the children in the community. All of the children studied have the opportunity to play with black children either at school or at home. There are a number of racially mixed

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[3]Orval G. Johnson and James Bonmarito, Tests and Measurements in Child Development, (San Francisco, Jossey-Bass, 1971), p. 440.

marriages in the community and racially mixed couples are commonly seen.

Each child was instructed as follows. "Here are a series of statements about black people. Please read them aloud. Circle or underline the response you like best. There are no correct answers. I want your opinion. I will not tell anyone, even your parents, how you respond." Two children needed a little help in reading the statements. Most children understood them readily. A few children were confused about "They get excited over little things." The meaning of this item could be made clearer by substituting upset for excited. A number of children responded to "I would like to live next door to them," by saying that they did not care who lived next door to them. They were instructed to decide whether they mostly agree or mostly disagree. Except for one child, all children were able to respond to all statements within ten minutes. The child who could not was an unusually mature and intelligent fourth grader. In the end, she said she did not know if she would be willing to marry a black man or if she would like to have a black teacher next year unless she could know who the person would be. This child's responses account for the missing data on the attitude scale.

The Questionnaire and Taped Interviews

The questionnaire was designed to elicit data in an area that had not been studied. It was intended to describe the parents, their interracial experiences before coming to the community studied, to elicit their satisfactions and concerns about their children's experiences in the community, and to elicit their perception of their children's

adaptation to interracial living, particularly the adaptations of the public school children who are a racial minority in their school and school system. Because of the sparse literature on the topic, the questionnaire was conceived of as open ended and information outside of its formal structure was gathered when it seemed relevant. To collect these data adequately and to provide a test of reliability of the coding, all interviews were taped. As a check on the adequacy of my interviewing technique, Dr. Lewis Carr and Dr. Mary Lewis of Catholic University each listened to a different tape.

One questionnaire was used per child. The responses of both parents were recorded together.

Questions 24 through 31 were designed to describe the parents, their previous interracial experiences, and motivations for coming to the community. For the purposes of this study, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, and orientala were considered non-whites. Both parents' experiences were recorded without regard to sex as there appears to be no difference in the influence of parents of one sex as compared to the other. Question 32 measures in a general way involvement in the community.

Question 33 asks parents to assess their child's academic progress. It was clear to me before the study began that the "quality" of the community public school is a salient issue which parents would probably want to discuss. As well as the relevant data that this question provides,

it also allowed the issue to be dealt with and separated from the issue of social adaptation. Question 37 also deals with satisfaction with the public school.

Questions 34 and 35 deal with the extent of the child's contacts with blacks and adaptation to interracial living. In a rough way, Question 36 gets at parental satisfaction with interracial living. Because of the tapes, it is possible to recover the desired percentage change in the case of those families who would like a "whiter" neighborhood, and this datum will be reported. The final question, 38, was designed to get at any relevant material that might have been missed by the questionnaire.

Question 34 F presented some difficulty until physical activity level was specified. Some parents had to work hard to separate racial data from other aspects of their children's lives. Social life is, of course, complex and such a division, although necessary to conduct research in the social sciences is artificial. Many parents commented that they found the interview interesting.

The term "tolerance" in Question 35 is not a good choice. Tolerance implies the acceptance of a lower status person by someone of higher status. "More willing to associate with other races" might be a better term. The questionnaire was coded during the interview and checked by listening to the tapes.

Interviews with parents of public school children tended to be between forty-five minutes and an hour. In general, the interviews

with private school parents were less than half an hour. This may mean that the parents in the two samples are different in regard to their interest in racial matters and/or that the minority status of the children in the public school causes parents to be more interested in and have more experience with their children's adaptations to inter-racial living.

The questionnaire was designed on the basis of theoretical issues of importance to the study. These are described in the literature review. Insofar as this attempt has been successful, the questionnaire has construct validity. Reliability of coding was high as there were only a few changes made after listening to the tapes. Some change in responses to the questionnaire would be expected over time as the questions deal with children who are growing and changing. Perceptions of the school probably change depending on who the child's teacher is. Even in a stable situation, play patterns change. Children are continually moving into and out of the community studied.

There were no special difficulties in conducting this research. The families studied were for the most part interested in the topic and motivated to participate. They are a well educated, articulate population and are easy to interview. Drawing up the sample list was time consuming. The most difficult part of the research was the literature review because there is no literature directly on the topic.

Small studies are hard to find. Many abstracts and books must be gone through to find a few. Listening to the tapes was valuable, but took twice as long as the original interviews.

The children were delightful. Most of them felt very important because they were interviewed and were most cooperative. Several siblings who were too young to participate felt left out and if I had an extra form with me, I administered the scale to them. Most of the children in the study did not know me personally.

Data Analysis

A t-test will be used to analyze the differences between public and private school groups on attitude item by item. Pearson's product moment correlation will be used for correlation of sex, age and playmate choice with attitude. Chi quare will be used to relate variables on the questionnaire.

Summary

To measure the behavioral aspect of attitude, children were asked to name the race of their four most frequent playmates and to identify them as black or white. A modification of the Gough, Harris, Martin and Edwards Prejudice Index (GHME Index) was used to measure cognitive, affective and conative aspects of attitude. Parents were interviewed to get a description of them and their past interracial experiences, to learn what brought them to the community, and to learn their perception of their children's adaptations to interracial living.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

There are two purposes behind the presentation of findings: to describe the population of white children grades three to six in the community and to describe any differences that exist between the forty-five white public school children who are a racial minorityiin their school and thirty-eight white private school children studied who are not.

Hypothesis I

The hypothesis that the public school children have more positive attitudes toward blacks as measured by the attitude scale was not substantiated by a t-test. Four was assigned to the most positive position; one to the least positive. There were no significant findings in comparing the two groups as a whole, item by item. However, when public school girls were compare to private school girls, there

were two cases in which the private school girls stated more positive attitudes. They were more likely to agree to "They make good teachers," and "They are honest." Public school boys were more likely to agree to "I would like to have one for my teacher next year." The results are presented in the Table 1. Because of the contradictory nature of these findings, the researcher believes they might have been a chance occurrence.

TABLE 1

STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOL GROUPS ON T-TEST

Statement	Public Mean	Private Mean	p	Point Biserial Correlation
They make good teachers.	3.3810	3.7222	.05	.317
They are honest.	3.1429	3.6111	.016	.386
I would like to have one for my teacher next year.	3.4167	2.8000	.022	.341

Throughout this chapter, rho statistics such as Person's product moment correlation (r), Cramer's V, and the point biserial correlation will be interpreted according to Cohen's convention:[1] Point ten is a weak relationship, .30

[1]Jacob Cohen, Statistical Power Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences, (New York, Academic Press, 1969).

a moderate one, and .50 a strong one.

On the whole, the attitudes of the children in the community towards blacks are positive. On only two items did the mean fall below three, the second most positive position. These items were "They often hurt other people's feelings," and "I would be willing to marry one of them when I grow up." The mean for the former was 2.976, standard deviation 1.135. These two items also showed the most variability. For a complete count of responses to all attitude scale items, see Table 14 in the appendix.

Item analysis only was done because it was believed that this approach would yield the most information. With the four point scale, quite different patterns of response could yield the same score.

Hypothesis II

For age and attitude, there was no statistically significant relationship as calaculated by Pearson. Except for one child who was thirteen, the children in this study ranged in age from eight to twelve. It may be that the instrument used was not sensitive enought to pick up difference with age in this age span. However, it is likely that attitudes of white children in the community do not vary over this age span.

Pearson's r was not statistically significant for the correlation between age and attitude for the public school group, the private school group, or the group as a whole. The same is true for the correlation between age and playmate choice.

Hypothesis III

This hypothesis tests the relationship between playmate choice and attitude. The public school children studied were more likely to name black playmates amongtthe four children they played with the most, Pearson's r= -.3663, p=.001. Public school children were coded 1, private school children 2. Table 2 shows the number of black children named. Figures in parentheses are percentages of the group; public, private and total.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF BLACK PLAYMATE CHOICES BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

	0	1	2	3	4
Public	8(17.8%)	12(26.8%)	14(31.1%)	9(20%)	2(4.4%)
Private	19(50%)	12(31.6%)	2(5.3%)	4(10.5%)	1(2.6%)
Total	27(31.3%)	24(32.5%)	16(19.3%)	13(15.7%)	3(3.6%)

For the public school group, there was an inverse correlation between playmate choice and "I would like to have them come to eat at my house." Pearson's r was -.3262, p=.014.

For the private school group, there were the following correlations between playmate choice and attitude.

TABLE 3

PEARSON PRODUCT - MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PLAYMATE CHOICE AND ATTITUDE FOR PRIVATE SCHOOL CHILDREN

Scale Item	r	p
It is easy to be friends with them.	.4421	.003
I would like to have them come to eat at my house.	.3314	.021
They are good neighbors.	.3118	.028
I would be willing to marry one of them when I grow up.	.4303	.004
I would like to be in a club or on a team with them	.3528	.015
They are honest.	.3465	.017
I would like to go on a picnic with them.	.3803	.009
They are pretty dumb.	.3135	.028
I would like to have one for my teacher next year.	.3058	.033
I would like to see one of them get elected Presiden of the United States.	.3346	.02

There were two Pearson's correlations of less than .30 which were not included in the list above, but were statistically significant. These scale items were "It is easy to be friends with them," and"I would like to go on a picnic with them."

Hypothesis III is confirmed for the private school group.

When the children identified their four most frequent playmates by race, there were a number of unexpected findings. There were several racial misidentifications found because I know the children named. One fourth grader named a child who is dark tan and called her white. Another child was named as white by a second fourth grader. This child is white on the basis of skin color, but has a black father. As the children sleep in each others homes, this fact was known to the child tested. A second grader tested, but not reported on in this study, called a dark tan child white. A fourth grade boy was interviewed and when asked the race of several light skinned children, black by American standards, he was unable to do so. He accepted that one of the children is black because he says so, but did not know about the other.

Another fourth grade child asked how to code a friend who is "half black and half white." Asked how she would describe her, the child answered, "I'd describe her as my best friend." She settled on half black, half white. A fifth grade boy asked how to code someone who is half black and half white. When asked what he meant, he replied, "Like if he's Jewish." A third grade boy asked if he could think of Presidents when he responded to the statement "I would

like to see one of them get elected President of the United States." Asked whom he had in mind, he mentioned Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt. Asked if any of these men were black, he responded that Theodore Roosevelt was.

There may have been other misidentifications which passed unnoticed. Children often used descriptive terms to describe their black friends: tan, dark tan, brown, dark brown.

Hypothesis IV

The evidence tends to confirm the hypothesis that there is a relationship between sex and racial attitude. Girls do express more positive attitudes toward blacks than boys do, the difference being stronger among private school children. Table 3 shows the statistically significant scale items for the correlation between sex and attitude. Boys were coded one; girls two.

TABLE 3

PEARSON PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SEX AND ATTITUDE BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

Scale Item	r	p
PUBLIC SCHOOL		
I would be willing to marry one of them when I grow up.	.3170	.017
They get excited over little things.	.3037	.021
PRIVATE SCHOOL		
They make good teachers.	.3854	.008

TABLE 3 CONTINUED

PRIVATE SCHOOL

Scale Item	r	p
It is easy to be friends with them.	.3119	.028
I would like to have them come to eat at my house.	.3445	.017
I would be willing to marry one of them when I grow up.	.5514	.001
They are honest.	.3259	.023
I would like to go on a picnic with them.	.4304	.004
They are pretty dumb.	.3329	.021
I would like to have one for my teacher next year.	.3058	.033
I would like to see one of them get elected President of the United States.	.3346	.02
TOTAL GROUP		
I would like to have them come to eat at my house.	.3107	.002
I would be willing to marry one of them when I grow up.	.4240	.001

Some items not included in the table above, showed a statistically significant relationship between sex and attitude of less than .30. These were for the public school group, "I would like to have them come to eat at my house," and "They are pretty dumb." For the total group, four items were significant at $p \geq .05$, but showed less than a moderate correlation of .30. These items were "I would like to go on

a picnic with them," "They are pretty dumb," "They get excited over little things," and "I would like to have one for my teacher next year."

Pearson's r for the correlation between sex and playmate choice for private school children yielded a correlation of .42, p=.004, indicating that private school girls are more likely than private school boys to name black children among the four children they play with the most. Pearson's r was not significant for thepublic school group.

Thus, for the private school group, playmate choice and sex are correlated with attitude. Those children who name black playmates and girls are likely to have more positive attitudes toward blacks. For the public school group, playmate choice is not correlated with attitude. Public school girls have more positive attitudes towards blacks on only two items, compared to nine for the private school group.

The shared variance between attitude and playmate choice for the private school group, r^2, ranges from .20 to .09. The r^2 for sex and attitude for the private school group ranges from .3 to .09. Playmate choice and sex are important factors in attitude, but as r^2 shows, a substantial part of the variance is unaccounted.

Social Situation

The information yielded by the questionnaire on play patterns is summarized in the Tables 4, 5, 6 and 7.

TABLE 4

PARENTAL PERCEPTIONS OF PLAY PATTERNS BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

Public	Private	
29(64.4%)	21(55.3%)	Play with black and white children.
8(17.8%)	14(36.9%)	Play mainly with white children.
6(13.4%)	2(5.3%)	Play mainly with black children.
1(2.2%)	1(2.6%)	Isolated.
1(2.2%)		Datum missing.

Chi-square analysis is not statistically significant for difference between the two groups.

TABLE 5

PARENTAL PERCEPTIONS OF VISITING PATTERNS BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

Public	Private	
2(4.4%)	6(15.8%)	Neither visit black homes nor are visited by black children.
2(4.4%)	0	Visit black children, but black children do not visit child
31(68.9%)	22(57.9%)	Visit black homes and are visited by blacks. Children eat in each other's homes.
6(13.3%)	7(18.4%)	Visit black homes and are visited by blacks.
3(6.8%)	2(5.3%)	Black children visit child who does not visit black homes.
1(2.2%)	1(2.6%)	Parents do not know.
1(2.2%)		Missing datum.

Chi-square analysis is not statistically significant for difference between the public and private school groups.

TABLE 6

PARENTAL PERCEPTIONS OF PARTY ATTENDANCE PATTERNS BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

Public	Private	
2(4.5%)	14(36.8%)	Neither invite black children nor are invited by them.
33(75%)	18(47.4%)	Invite black children and are invited by them.
2(4.5%)	1(2.6%)	Invite black children, but are not invited by them.

TABLE 6 CONTINUED

Public	Private	
1(2.3%)	0	Do not invite black children, but are invited by them.
3(6.8%)	2(5.3%)	Do not give or attend parties.
3(6.8%)	3(7.9%)	Parents do not know.
1(2.2%)		Missing datum.

Chi-square analysis is statistically significant at p=.015, Cramer's V=.44.

TABLE 7

PARENTAL PERCEPTION OF PLAY RADIUS BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

Public	Private	
16(36.4%)	15(39.5%)	Within two blocks or less.
11(25%)	8(21.1%)	Within one-half mile.
17(38.6%)	4(10.5%)	Within one mile.
0	11(28.9%)	Further than one mile.

Chi-square analysis is significant at p=.0002, Cramer's V=.48.

There was no statistically significant correlation between physical activity level as perceived by parents and the four most frequent playmates reported by the children, Item 34F in questionnaire. Judith Porter's observation that more active white children tend to play with black children may still hold true. Parental perception of their child's activity level may be quite inaccurate. It had been anticipated that there would be a change in the racial component of play patterns with age.

There was not and only one parent perceived that his child had fewer black playmates than previously.

Based on the above data, it seems clear that most of the children in both public and private school children play with black children, visit black homes, and are visited by black children. However, the interview tapes leave the distinct impression that on average the public school children spend more play time in racially mixed groups and have more intimate relations with black children, than private school children do. This interpretation is supported by the facts that public school children are more likely to name blacks among the four children they play with the most, to attend parties given by black children and to invite black children to their parties, and that public school children are more likely to play close to home. Thus, a positive picture emerges of contact between the races for white children in the community in sixth grade or younger.

This relationship may change after sixth grade. The community children tend to go to a variety of junior high schools. Some move to other jurisdictions. Very few of the community elementary school graduates, black or white, attend the neighborhood junior and senior high schools. Kenny's family talked about this issue. Kenny is a popular child, active in the extensive social life of his street where a racially mixed group of children from several blocks around play. The family's older children were much like Kenny at his age, but changed as they grew older. They continue to have black friends and to date blacks, but feel a barrier between themselves and blacks. His future

social relations will be ". . . based on his future experiences, too, because we don't know whether he'll have the same ones as the other children. But what he's thinking at ten is not a definite indication that he'll be thinking the same way at sixteen."

Gail's family echoed Kenny's. All of her friends at her slumber party were black. Her father reflected that time may change these relations. "I suspect as they get older the pressures would be such that she might find it increasingly uncomfortable to associate that exclusively with blacks." A number of parents with teen aged children commented that friendship patterns change during the teen years.

The statistics presented are not by themselves sufficient to describe the range and quality of the children's experiences. Their comments and those of their parents will be used to fill out the picture. All names used are fictitious.

Joe

Joe, a sixth grader, summarizes what many parents perceive. "My best friend is black and he and I are on the exact same wave length on everything." "I really like him a lot." "There really aren't any racial groups around this neighborhood. Everyone gets along." His worst experiences have been with a large white girl who beat him up. Joe says he doesn't like to fight; "I'm not that much of a tough kid." He is rather small for his age.

The kids call each other racial names. "But the blacks call the blacks 'nigger' . . . . It's not dirty anymore; it's just like a greeting. . . .

Whites say it; blacks say it; everyone says it . . . I don't say it. They call the white kids 'nigger', too." They /black kids/ like to cut down on each other, I've found. They call your mother 'Oatmeal Eddie' and all this stuff. They insult your race and stuff. You don't really think of it 'cause they're not really trying to hurt you. It's a game now."

"I like growing up in a place where you have friends on the white side and friends on the black side because then when you get older, you can really get along with people better. When you've had experience with them, you get to know all types."

In fourth grade, Joe talked like the black kids. "I don't any more. I figured if I talked like one of them, they'd say, 'He's one of us; he's a real cool kid.' Now, I say the heck with it. If they don't like me now, there's no sense putting on a masquerade for them." "I found out in fifth grade they started resenting it. I'm me now instead of something else, whatever it is." He likes himself better for that.

Joe's parents' perceptions agree with his. They say he is small, needs help in a fight, and gets it. "His own peer group, black kids in the group, came to his rescue. Joe understands this." "He's always had good friends there /in the community school/." "He understands that there's a game going on here which is also very very serious. I think he's dealt far, far better with it than I thought he was going to be able." Joe's a friendly boy who knows everyone, according to his family.

Friendships

There are many close friendships among the children. Black children often sleep at white homes and white children sleep at black homes. Barbara's mother commented, "The children act on a much different level than the adults do." The black and white children sleep together, eat together, and go out with each other's parents, but the parents are rarely friendly, according to her. Some families repeated Barbara's family's perceptions. Some, however, mentioned close relationships with black families that were reflected in their children's experiences. Michelle's family was one. "The relationship with the kids across the street is so close that the households are interchangeable. It could be a common house." "We were looking for a natural interchange."

The racial factors of friendship are perceived by some parents as being incidential. Rosemary's mother told, "Now it happens that all of her good friends are black. I'm quite positive that they were not chosen for that reason . . . . It just happened that way."

Many of the public school children participate in scout troups where they are one of a few white children. Some of the boys participate in team sports and other activities at the community recreation center where there are few white children. Sometimes they are the only white child on the team. Fred participated in the interview and nodded his head while his mother talked. "He's very friendly, you know. He makes friends with just about anybody. Don't /sic/ make no difference to him . . . ." "He has as many white friends as colored." "He loves to

stay after school and stay in the recreation room." Fred joins everything and says he like the community school very much.

A number of parents reported that their children tend to play with whomever happens to live on the block. But, some children choose to play more often with white children. Al's mother thought he was patterning himself on his parents. "Probably our closer relationships, in most cases, are with white families." Another possible reason for his white preference may be that Al is not very athletic and black children tend to emphasize sport, his mother said. However, Al, a public school boy, does play frequently with black children.

Ed's mother agrees in part with Al's. All of the children between about six and twelve, who live on the alley, play in the alley. The group is racially mixed. Ed, a private school boy is not athletic. "I think that that probably limited his sort of horizons in terms of interaction patterns. That is, if he were a more physically active child, engaged in more of the games and such on the street, his patterns of firendships might be different." Attending private school has restricted his interracial contacts. "He really hasn't had the opportunity to build a neighborhood base. That's the price I think you pay for a private school choice. It takes the child out of the neighborhood." Ed's friends are mostly white.

Some children have difficulty making friends.

Natalie's family said, "She feels that she can't make friends as easily with black children and she feels badly about that. She wants to

have friends. She wants to have even more than she has . . . . She feels it's difficult because she's white to make friends. Amy's mother described her social difficulties in terms of her personality. But, "I think her position as a minority did to some extent /influence her social problems/, but to a lot less extent than I had been concerned about after first."

Some families reported that their children were sometimes rejected by black children or sometimes fear them. Danny's family reported that he plays with the children on his block without racial distinction. He sleeps in the homes of black children and these children are included in his family's activities. However, in the last year, Danny, who is small and not very aggressive, has developed a fear of some black children. "He seems somewhat frightened and concerned about big children who are black, particularly those in the sixth grade who have frightened him. Bullies! He does not like bullies! I would say within the past year or two this has been something that has surfaced."

Parents' perceptions may differ widely from the child's perceptions. George participated in the interview. His father said, "My own feeling is that he has some handicaps /socially/. I mean that the environment here is not the easiest environment for him. He's a reasonably happy, healthy kid, so I think he can adjust pretty well here." George disagreed and said no one ever refused to play with him because he is white. They won't play with him, George said, because they're 'that' kind of person.

Emily thought the children at school picked on her because she is white, while her mother believed that race was not the main factor. "Some days were very miserable. She'd come home at recess and wouldn't want to go back to school." "A lot of the kids at school had a tough thing. It was stylish to be tough. I can beat you and I'm tough and like that." "By the time they get to third grade up there, they're forming their little cliques."

Louis does not play with the black children on his street, but plays with the black children at camp. He participated in the interview and talked about his difficulty with the children on the street. "I was sitting down and they put sand in my hood and then they said to put it on . . . . Then it got all on my head. That's what started it all . . . . After that they weren't friendly with me." "But in my camp, that's not true." "Everyone's friendly."

Hal has played with the boy next door who is his age and black since he was a preschooler. His parents described his relationship to his friend as close, yet normally full of reconciliations after arguments. Hal is sometimes excluded by the other black children on his street.

Hal told me there are no black kids in his private school. He does not like black children in general. "It's not good to be the only white on a team," he said. "I would not feel right." "They /blacks/ don't act right sometimes. You get in a fight with them easily. They only like each other and might gang up on me. Whites don't like blacks and blacks beat up on them."

Hal no longer feels comfortable in a black group, his family reported. "If he's the only kid in a group and the kids are . . . involved in an activity which involves a lot of cultural speech or colloquialisms, or whatever you want to call them, I think he's begun to sense there's a cultural difference between blacks and whites." "He used to speak fluent 'ghettoese,'" but not any longer.

Many parents of private school children said that the black children their child played with were children who attended his school and also lived nearby.

Minority Status

This section deals primarily with the public school children as few private school children consistently experience minority status. Only one private school child was reported to generally use black speech patterns and mannerisms. Four private school children were reported to act differently in a black group, more subdued or frightened. As noted in the first chapter, the community can be divided into two sections. The median house value and, presumably income, are about one and one-half times higher in one section as compared to the other. Fourteen of the private school children live in the more expensive section as compared to eight public school children. In that area, parents were likely to report that the black children who lived near them spoke only standard English. The private school children tend to have contact only with black children who live near them or attend their schools. In the less expensive section, most of the black children speak standard English, but use black English while at play. Many white parents of public school

children report that their children adopt these speech patterns while at play.

Table 8 summarizes some of the adaptations of the white public school children to minority status as perceived by their parents. Parents were asked what changes if any they noticed in their children in a black group.

TABLE 8

PARENTAL PERCEPTIONS OF ADAPTATIONS TO MINORITY STATUS, PUBLIC SCHOOL CHILDREN ONLY

Number of Children	Change
20(44.4%)	None
1(2.2%)	Speech changes
10(22.2%)	Speech and mannerisms change
12(26.7%)	Black influence present in any situation
2(4.4%)	Other

Chi-square between type of school attendance and speech and mannerism changes was statistically significant at p=.0001, Cramer's V=.53.

Again the comments of parents will be used to recover the range and quality of their perception of their children's experience. Most of the families felt that minority status was of very little importance. As stated previously, many parents felt that race was of little importance in their children's lives and had trouble focusing on race as a separate element of their children's lives. Unless otherwise stated, comments were made by the parents of public school children.

The parents of the younger children in the study perceived fewer adaptations to minority status. Around fourth grade, certainly by fifth, there is the perception that the children begin to separate along racial lines. Some parents reported that around this time their children are called racial names. This perception is not universal. Three boys, one fourth grader, one fifth grader and one sixth grader said that they were never called racial names and did not hear others called them. Fred, a fifth grader, said, "Some people have fights, some don't." For him, race did not seem to be an important variable.

Bernadette has long blond hair. In first grade, the black children fondled her hair and called her beautiful, according to her mother. By fourth grade, her mother said, she was hit, called 'honky,' excluded and picked on by some black girls. "Bernadette asks, 'Why do black kids say they're so much better?'", her mother reported. Yet, Bernadette has black friends who sleep at her home and she at theirs.

Ira is in fourth grade. He does not like sports which his family thinks sets him apart from most of the black children. He did not join the boys during outdoor play and the girls called him 'honky' and threatened to beat him up. He rejoined the boys' group and found that the girls left him alone. His parents wonder if his experience was part of normal boy-girl tensions or was racial.

Ira's class read a story about an Indian boy who decided to have nothing more to do with the white man. Ira, the only white boy in his class, felt that everyone was staring at him while this story was being

read, according to his parents. He family also observed that he was left out of the animated conversation of a group of black children after a trip.

Claire plays mostly with black children. All her playmate choices were black. In fourth grade, she was isolated, called racial names, and felt very badly about this, according to her family. They intervened on her behalf in the school and by fifth grade the difficulty was gone. Her family believes that the name calling behavior was stage specific, that children of nine try to decide who is part of the group and who is not so that prominent differences are exploited to the end of excluding some.

Claire's family saw her difficulties as something too difficult for a child to handle alone and insisted that the school handle the situation. In general, her parents said they expect Claire to take care of herself and she is quite capable of this.

One of Claire's friends is a child whose family speaks black English. With them, she adopts black speech and mannerisms. She doesn't speak black English at home "unless she slips." When asked if she disapproved of such speech at home, Claire's mother replied, "I sure do! I think its poor English. It's not an asset. It's not cute to me."

Sam experienced racial difficulties in fourth grade. "He does hate being called 'whitey' and that makes him angry." "He's being beaten up fairly regularly or threatened with it /in fifth grade/ and being called

'honky' and 'whitey' and that kind of thing . . . . He feels dumped upon." He has not generalized his experience with some blacks to all blacks, according to his family. "He has a very healthy consciousness that bastards come in every color." Sam's parents noted he uses black speech patterns and mannerisms while at play on the street as do his white playmates.

Sam talked about his difficulties while working on the attitude scale. "I make a weak impression," but he believes he is also beaten because he is white. "Most of the girls hate my guts." "Most of my friends are white. None of them /black kids/ ever want to be friends with me at school. I don't have many friends." Sam's parents said they referred his problems to the school. Some group dynamics sessions were run, the link with the girl who was the ringleader in the attacks was broken, and the harrassment abated.

Feelings about racial names differ among the children. See Joe's comments in the preceeding section. George said black children call white children 'honky' because they are angry and it really is not a 'racial thing.' "They really are 'honkies,'" he said. Asked if the name bothered him, he replied, "Not that much." George's parents believe the racial atmosphere of the school is healthy and that racial incidents are a minor part of their child's experience. George said he acts differently in a black group; he is more active and fights more. "I play differently." George stated that his speech changes to conform to the speech of the group in which he finds himself.

Rosemary's mother believed she is called racial names and uses racial names herself in fights. This is just another way to insult, she said. Rosemary "gives as good as she gets" and has no trouble. She named four black children as her most frequent playmates.

Barbara was the only white girl in her class for half a day in fourth grade. "She did not like that at all," said her mother. "She felt discriminated against." Barbara was very hurt when some black children made fun of her at gym, derided her dancing, or called her 'honky' or 'whitey.' "I think that because she feels different, there's a degree of, I won't say paranoia because that's a very strong word, but it is almost that, where she feels a certain sense of being isolated. And I think that if she extended herself more, she'd meet a more positive reaction."

Edith's family has been very disappointed with their experience in the community. They believe they were naively idealistic when they first came. "We wanted to pretend everything's equal. There's not a thing in the world to talk about. Everybody's the same. Then they go to school and get the shock of their lives that there's something wrong with them and come home to me like Cookie /a younger sister/ did this year almost like, 'Mommy, why didn't you tell me there's something wrong with me.'" The children in the family have been told by black children that they cannot be friends with a white child because whites are responsible for slavery.

Edith, a fifth grader, had some racial difficulties all along, according to her family, but these worsened in fourth grade and have continued unabated. Edith's family said, she is hit and called many names, some of which she is too embarrassed to repeat. The family believed that children gained approval by tormenting Edith who would not defend herself. At the parents' request, the school intervened, but the situation improved only slightly. Edith's younger sister, Claudia, fights back if she is picked on and is not picked on as much as Edith. Claudia's mother believed she could tell the race of the person Claudia is talking to on the telephone by her speech pattern and body movements.

All but one of the children discussed so far who have had difficulties have named one or more black children among the children they play with the most.

The commonest adaptation to minority status reported by parents was changes in speech and mannerism from the dominant white pattern. Most parents believed that the neighborhood playgroups tend to speak English strongly influenced by black English and do not object to such speech outside. "I'm delighted that he switches back and forth. I think it's sort of fun," said Danny's mother. Many parents object to the use of other than standard English at home. Sidney's mother said, "I must say it does bother me. I have to say, 'look, I know you go to school with black

kids . . . but why must you imitate them.'" Sidney has a loose jointed gait his mother defines as black and finds objectionable. Another mother called this gait a 'pimp' walk.

For some children, the adaptation to black speech is very complete, according to their parents. Harriet's mother said, "If one is listening on the alley and Harriet's with a group of youngsters who are black and Harriet's the only white youngster, . . . by listening in terms of pronunciation and tone and speech rhythms, it's not clear that there's a white child present. Harriet has mimicked so finely that she can speak and walk black and be black." "What she has indicated recently is that if a white youngster at school does not 'jive', then you really get it. You're really left out, you get some verbal abuse and things like that. So because she 'jives', she's accepted." When Harriet is in a black group, "There seems to be more body talk." "She seems to just be more physically moving all the time when she's with a black group than when she's with a white group." Racial name calling began in fifth grade, Harriet's mother thought. "I think it depends on the white child's response whether the harrassment continues." For Harriet, it did not. Like Harriet's family, Bruce's said, "If you closed your eyes, you wouldn't know [he is white]."

Two families report that their children feel left out and wish they were black. Sidney's mother said, "I feel sorry for my children because they really are in a great part a minority . . . . I don't think they have enough experience within their own race. I think they're living too much of a black life." They want to be close to the children at school and feel shut out because of their whiteness, according to their mother. "They'd rather be black."

Todd's family is well satisfied with his school experience. His mother said, "If I have any quarrel with the school . . . it's that there's been such a heavy influence of let's learn about black things; let's learn about black history; let's learn about black heroes; let's learn about all the good things that black folks have done that my kids have come home and said, 'Gee, I wish I was black!'" Todd's family fears that their children are losing their identity as whites. "Now our kids identify all that's good with black and our kids are white."

Larry also felt left out because of the emphasis on black studies. He participated in many school activities and received many awards. On the whole he enjoyed his school experience, but felt a sense of being in an alien culture. He participated in the interview and acknowledged

this was true. His parents, like several others, observed that Larry has to deal with two minority statuses, being both white and Jewish. The strong emphasis on black studies and the small group of white children in the community school contributed to Larry's feeling that he is participating in an alien culture, he and his family said. Regarding the cultural studies curriculum, Larry's father said, that the designers of the curriculum may not have meant to minimize the contributions of other groups. "But consciously or unconsciously, innocently or not, it comes forth this way and gives one the feeling that the black minority group is better, more productive, has made a more substantial contribution than other minorities."

Only two families of children attending private school have experienced racial difficulties. Sean and a sibling originally attended public school. Sean is a quiet boy. While in the community school, his parents said, he was frightened by the ritual fighting and children being beaten. Another child forced him to do his work. His parents believe it is harder for a white boy to be accepted in the school's student culture, but state that they know black boys who have had difficulties similar to Sean's. Sean hasn't been comfortable around blacks since he was six. He perceived them as tougher - different. He and his sibling and a

friend were roughed up and held against their will by some black boys they knew and now he is afraid to move around the community. Sean's parents believed he might have had the same trouble elsewhere, but attribute his difficulties at least in part to race. They are disappointed and believe living in a racially mixed neighborhood is more complicated than they had imagined. "We may be in over our heads."

Morton's family finds that the younger children play well with black children, but that the older children are frightened when there are many black children on the street. "My kids are intimidated on the street," Morton's mother said. They have been pushed off their bicycles, rejected, and isolated. Morton feels keenly that the neighborhood children do not want to play with him. "If he would have been accepted, he would have been very happy to become part of the group . . . . It's because he knows he's not been accepted that he just doesn't push himself." Morton feels he is rejected because he is white.

Those behaviors most mentioned as adaptations to minority status by parents of public school children were the use of speech and mannerisms derived from black culture. Some parents perceived a loss of identity and a sense of isolation. Some children were reported to feel sad because they believe black children as a group reject them. This

becomes an issue around fifth grade. Black girls were reported to be the more actively rejecting of white children than black boys.

Many parents described their children's sense that there are more blacks than whites in the world. Noreen's mother said, "She perceives herself as a minority. So it's only at the intellectual level that she sees blacks being discriminated against." Other parents said that their children only slowly came to realize that whites are the dominant group in this country. The children incorrectly generalize based on their experience in a majority black city and almost entirely black school system.

Three families described their children's experiences on a special camp trip in which they were the only white children. One child came home with her hair cornrolled and seemed to have enjoyed her experience, her parents said. The other two sets of parents felt that their children were isolated or treated unkindly. One of the children remarked on feeling uncomfortable.

Many children in the community use a swimming pool which serves a larger area than the community. Attendance at the pool is almost totally black. Many parents reported that their children are afraid to go to the pool without them.

Effect of Interracial Experience

The parents of children in private school made 1.4 responses per child on their assessment of the effect of interracial living; those of public school children made 2.3 responses per child. The table below summarizes parents' responses.

TABLE 9

PARENTAL PERCEPTION OF EFFECT ON INTERRACIAL EXPERIENCE ON EACH CHILD

Effect on Child	Public	Private
None	4(8.9%)*	6(15.8%)*
More racially tolerant	33(73.3%)	26(68.4%)
Less racially tolerant	2(4.4%)	2(5.3%)
Experienced prejudice against whites	27(60.%)	6(15.8%)
More racial awareness	20(44.4%)	3(7.9%)
Bicultural	3(6.7%)	0
Negative effect on self esteem	7(15.6%)	1(2.6%)
Positive effect on self esteem	1(2.2%)	0
Other**	5(11.1%)	6(15.8%)

*Percentages refer to proportion of group giving each response.

**Includes the following responses: freer in body movement, has black role models, knows blacks can be as prosperous and well educated as whites, comfortable with blacks, afraid to move around neighborhood, more interest in sports.

The parents of public school children perceive more and more varied effects on their children compared to the parents of private school children. By far, the commonest response is that the child is more racially tolerant for having lived in the community. This, many parents feel, is the result of the child's experience with blacks who are similar to him. The difference between the public school and private school group in the experience of prejudice against whites is striking. These experiences range from being called 'whitey' or 'honky' once to feeling the object of taunts and beatings for being white. Parental comments will be used to show the range of parental responses to this item.

Marvin's mother is pleased with his experience in the community and community school. "I think we are fulfilling one of our objectives in moving to this neighborhood, to have our children have a very natural awareness of black persons in this society as equals. It's not something we talk about, it's just something I hope they're living and experiencing. I feel very good about it."

When asked the effect on Martin of his experience in the community, his family responded, "Somehow Martin's growing up in the neighborhood has seemed so natural that

we just don't think about anything like that." "They [the family's children] instinctively think of black people as people and not as a problem race. I think their first reaction is to the person and not to his race . . . . You have to grow with it, to do that, to think of another person because he's a person and not be immediately struck by the color he is."

Judy's mother said, "She's colorblind." "We wanted her to be in a setting where she'd realize the world had all kinds of people in it and that they were people, too. I think the variety of people down here at [the community school] is a good experience for her. I can see she takes that for granted as the normal type of school and isn't aware there is any other type of pattern."

Two parents were pleased that their children could perceive blacks as beautiful. One mother spoke of her daughter. "She said something about one of the [friends] was the prettiest girl in her class . . . . Where I grew up, there were two separate columns from pretty to ugly, white and black . . . . Obviously for her there was no difference. The prettiest girl was a black girl." Nathan's father said of his experience in the community, "I think it makes him a better kid." He was pleased that when he met a black friend on the street, Nathan commented, "That Betty,

she's a real cute girl."

Ed's mother summed up her family's experience in the community. "Living here has been a good experience. As good as it could be, should be, we'd like it to be, probably not. It's not ideal." But, nothing ever is ideal, she continued.

Some parents see their children's experiences as more mixed. Bernadette's mother said, "She know how to hurt [with racial epithets] and she's been hurt herself. So she knows how to slap back." She has a pretty realistic view. In some sense she has less prejudice than if she hadn't been around blacks because she expects certain things from groups of black kids sometimes on the basis of acquired experience and that tends to turn out sometimes. But she doesn't expect all blacks at all times to do those things to her."

Another family said, "I think that Claudia is less apprehensive than she would be had she lived in the suburbs be cause there's less fear of the known. But at the same time . . . I think she has more of an expectation of black people being trouble." Claudia's sister has had a lot of difficulty with black children. "I thing they both have benefitted from these close [black] friends and these wonderful teachers. They've never had a teacher, a black

teacher, they did not like or from whom they felt any kind of prejudice."

Being a minority child in school has been difficult, according to Larry's parents. "There's been a lot of negative feeling, I think, generated by the close proximity which is precisely the opposite of what we all thought was going to happen." "If I had it to do all over, I'd do the same thing. We tried to live the way we believe in living. If it didn't work out exactly as we had hoped it would, that's part of reality and I wouldn't have wanted it any other way, but to try it out. To make the experiment at least. I'm glad my kids have had the experience of living this way."

A few people felt their children had been adversely affected. "My kids will grow up out of this neighborhood not liking blacks, where we moved into this neighborhood feeling neutral, you know. They were here and we were here and if they'll be nice, we'll be nice . . . ." "My kids will not live in a black neighborhood, I'm positive. They don't like blacks because blacks don't like them."

A few families think that living in the community had made no difference in their children's lives. Sabrina's father said, "I have the suspicion that Sabrina having gone to school with blacks has made relatively little difference in her entire life one way or another. If she had gone to school entirely with whites, she probably would be pretty

much the same. Her attitudes towards other kids, towards black kids and white kids would be largely the same." "If she learns by virtue of her experience that prejudice against blacks, whether we as Olympian observers know that's not really a racial characteristic, but a class characteristic is not important. What counts is that it's her experience. Let her have it. Let her make her own deductions, even if they're wrong and let her correct them as she grows older."

"Iris is Iris everywhere," her mother said. "We just live and let the other live. Georgia's mother said, "I think Georgia would have gotten along anywhere she live. Georgia is a natural born leader. Georgia would have accepted people for what they are wherever she lived."

Other Data

See Tables 14 through 22 in the appendix for data on family social class, parents' previous living experiences in racially mixed communities, prior interracial experiences of parents, reasons for moving into the community, neighborhood centeredness, parental perception of the role of the school inthe child's academic progress, reasons for removing children from the public school and the amount of desire for racial change in the community.

Summary

Minority status in the public school does not affect the attitude toward blacks of white children as compared to white children in the same community in private school. The attitudes towards blacks of white children grades three through six in this prosperous community are generely positive. For the private school sample, attitude is positively correlated with playmate choice. Playmate choice and sex are related. Private school girls name more black playmates among the children they play with the most than do private school boys. In both the public and private school groups, sex and attitude are related, girls having more positive attitudes towards blacks than boys. The correlations hold true for more items for the private school children than for the public school children. There is indication that some of the children in the community studied are not clear about who is black and who is white.

Most of the white children in the community play with black children and visit their homes. There is no difference between the two groups in this regard. Public school children are more likely to invite black children to their parties and go to the parties of black children. They also tend to play closer to home and name more black playmates.

While most of the public school children are reported to have few racial difficulties, public school children are more likely to experience minority feelings of loss of identity and isolation. They are more likely to assume black speech patterns and mannerisms. They are also more likely to experience prejudice against whites. The parents of public school children perceive that black peers are less likely to accept white children as friends after fourth grade, although close friendships continue.

A wide range of experiences have been described which indicate that the perceptions of white parents in the same community about their children's adaptations to living in a racially mixed community vary widely.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The white children studied in grades three through six who live in this interracial community tend to perceive blacks as hard working, honest, intelligent, good neighbors, worthwhile companions and teachers who deserve college education and to aspire to the Presidency of the United States.

Accounting for Attitude

The children's attitudes toward blacks are probably influenced by their parents' prointegration stance. They are from families of high social status which has been found to correlate highly with positive attitudes toward blacks. As shown in Table 15 appended, 64.5 percent of the families, forty of sixty-two, fall in the highest social class based on occupation and education. Twenty-nine percent, eighteen families, fall into the second social class. Only four families, 6.5 percent, fall below the second highest social class. The literature is clear that those who are better educated and more prosperous tend to have more positive attitudes toward minority groups.

The attitudes of children tend to correlate highly with those of their parents according to Ehrlich, as cited in the literature review.

Sixty-one of the eighty-three children, 73.5 percent, come from families who named racial integration among the first four reasons why they moved into the community.

There were two items on which the response mean fell below three points, the second most positive position. These items were "They often hurt other people's feelings," mean 2.976, standard deviation .962, and "I would be willing to marry one of them when I grow up," mean 2.537, standard deviation 1.135. These items also showed the most [illegible]lity of response scores. It would be interesting to know if reluctance to marry a black person implies anti-black feeling or own group preference. The Jewish child who prefers to marry a Jew or the Italian child who prefers an Italian mate may view blacks as unsuitable for these reasons. This may be a suitable topic for future research. The response to "They often hurt other people's feelings" may indicate the perception that whites are the out group. It should be noted that the mean on this item is between the mostly agree and the mostly disagree position.

There was no statistically significant difference in attitude between the white private school and white public school children. It may be that living in a racially mixed community is as much a marginal status for a white child as being a racial minority in a school.

Boys and Girls

The trend of the literature according to St. John is for boys to become more in group in a minority situation. Based on the children's self report of the four children they play with the most, this relationship does not hold in this study. There was no correlation between sex and playmate choice for the white public school children who are a minority group in their school. There was a moderate correlation between sex and playmate choice among the private school children, none of whom attend majority black schools. Girls named more black playmates. The private school children attend schools which range from one hundred percent white to about sixty percent white.

Girls have the most positive attitudes toward blacks than boys. There were many more statistically significant items tested for sex difference for the private school than for the public school group. When white children of high social class from prointegration families are minority children in a school with black children of like social class, it may be that the sex differences in attitude and interactions tend to wash out. The reasons for these findings in this study are not clear. The more black playmates a private school child named, the more positive were his attitudes toward blacks. This tends to support the equal status contact hypothesis as do the generally positive attitudes for the group as a whole. Sex and playmate choice are clearly important variables, but they account for thirty percent or less of

the variance in attitude. Other variables need to be studied, especially the relationship between personality and attitude.

Friendships

There are many intimate friendships between black and white children in the commun ty studied. Most children play with black children and visit their homes. It may be that close friendships are more likely among children who attend the public school as public school children are more likely to attend the parties of black children and invite black children to their parties as compared to the private school children. The interviews certainly left this impression. Children in the community public school are more likely to play close to home. These findings are not surprising as the public school children have more opportunity to know black children in the community and less daily contact with children far from it.

These and all other conclusions are based on the population of white public school children, grades three through six, in the community. The private school sample is a biased one as it was not possible to determine the complete population and twelve children in the appropriate grades or their parents refused to participate.

Interracial Living

The question of the contribution made by the experience of living in an interracial community where blacks and whites are equally prosperous to attitude formation and interaction patterns can be answered here only in a speculative way. This researcher could find no recent

studies on white children in interracial communities where blacks and whites are equally prosperous or where white children are in the minority, except for a study in progress by Gretchen E. Schafft.[1] The study was not included in the literature review because it was only lately received by the researcher.

Schafft studied white children in minority status in their public school in Greentrees, a community adjacent to the one studied in this paper. She found that the white children were socially separate, although they may have sometimes had congenial relations with black children in school. The average social class of Greentrees according to the 1970 census was considerably lower than that of the community studied here. Median income for all families in Greentrees was $12,792, for blacks $14,156 as compared to $21,129 for all races and $20,788, for blacks in the community studied in this paper. Median years of education in Greentrees was 12.5 years for all races and for blacks. In the community studied here, median years of education for all races was 14.6 years, for blacks 15.9 years. Schafft's impression is that white parents of public school children are better educated than black

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[1]Gretchen E. Schafft, "Together Yet Separate: Territoriality Among White Children in Predominantly Black Classrooms," paper presented 12-2 to 6, 1975, at the American Anthropological Association in San Francisco, California.

parents of public school children in Greentrees. Schafft states that ninety percent of the white public school families in Greentrees chose to more there because of their interest in living in an interracial community. In this respect they are like most of the white parents in this study. The Greentrees children studied are white public school children who are a minority in their school as are the white public school children studied here. The Greentrees community was 63.6 percent black in 1970 compared to forty-nine percent black in the community studied here.

Schafft found that the white children in Greentrees are socially very separate from their black classmates and restricted in their use of school and neighborhood space. The question of the use of school and neighborhood space was not specifically studied here. The findings on extreme social separation are contrary to the findings of this study.

Schafft did an observational study. In this study, parents' perceptions are used to look at children's interactions. There are some real differences between parental perceptions and actual interaction patterns. However, in the case of children between the ages of eight and twelve, parents are likely to know with whom their children play, at whose house they sleep, which children join the family dinner and other activities. Moreover, the race of children named as most frequent playmates seemed to correspond to parents' perceptions of interacial contact. The public and private school children studied

here have a great deal of social contact with black children.

The difference in social class between Greentrees and the community studied for this paper may account for the difference in the experiences of the two sets of children. The issues raised by the disparity in findings between these two studies merit further research.

The data on parental perception of children's adaptations was gathered for two reasons. Interracial communities can be better encouraged if it is possible to understand the concerns of parents and to share the experiences of parents in the community with others who might live in similar communities. Secondly, the questionnaire was written as a survey tool because so little is known about white children in interracial communities. Further research might focus on white children in a variety of interracial settings. The understanding of parent's assessment of their child's experiences, and thereby their willingness to remain in an interracial community, is important. It is essential to control for social class in order to differentiate between the effect of social class and racial variables.

The main difference seen between the public school children who are a minority in their school and the private school children who are not was in their adaptations to black culture as perceived by their parents. The white private school child may spend a lot of his social time with black children, but may never experience minority status. If he prefers, he may be able to avoid social contact with blacks

completely, depending on the racial composition of his private school. Many white public school children assume black speech patters and mannerisms while at play, as predicted by differential association theory. These seem to be the community norm for play, much as children at another time spoke pig Latin. It is interesting that black and white children tend to speak standard English in more formal settings. This probably happens because those speaking standard English are more rewarded in the larger society.

Most white public school parents perceive race as a limited factor in their children's lives and often had difficulty separating the racial from other factors in their perception of their children's adaptation.

Some children are reported to have experiences analagous to those of black children when they are a minority in a school. Two families report their children wish they were black. Other families report less pervasive identity loss. Some children suffer situational loss of self esteem, notably around physical activities. They feel black children deride them at gym, on the playground, or while they are dancing. It is very striking that parents report that their children's difficulties tend to be with black girls, not boys. This finding is consistent with St. John's report that studies show black girls have less favorable attitudes toward whites than do black boys.[2]

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[2]Nancy H. St. John, School Desegregation (John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1975), p. 78.

Singer found such to be the case in her study of fifth grade children.[3] The children and parents who described social difficulties complained that black children did not like them, not vice versa.

Based on the statements of some of the children in the study and those of the parents, it seems that some children are never called racial names. Some are, but respond by being offensive in turn. Some are called racial names and suffer great pain from this and feel picked on because of their race. It may be that racial name calling is part of the tendency of children to try to find ways to get power over another child by making him angry. When the words either do not anger or cause an unpleasant response, the behavior stops.

Some children may need help from teachers and school administration in coping with their minority status. It may require a new mind set to recognize that white children may experience the same difficulties black children sometimes do when they are in the minority. No child was described as isolated because of racial reasons. The relationship of personality factors to adaptation to minority status would be an important area of potential study.

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[3]Dorothy Singer, "Interracial Attitudes of Negro and White 5th Grade Children in Segregated and Unsegregated Schools (Doctoral Dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1966).

Around fifth grade, perhaps a little sooner, the parents perceive that the children begin to separate a little along racial lines. This group separation seems to occur even for children whose best friends are in the main black. Many parents commented that the racial divisions they saw were akin to the Jewish-gentile, Italian-Irish and other divisions they themselves experienced as children. With the onset of preadolescence, children become more concerned about and involved in their social group. Who is a part of that group and who is not becomes central. The basis for inclusion and exclusion probably varies somewhat from community to community, but ethnic and religious groupings are probably a common basis throughout the United States.

In the community studied, blackness is an important focus of identity formation. The white children do not have a comparable focus as they come from many ethnic groups and being white does not, in this community, seem to be much of a focus for identity formation. Perhaps there is a sense among some of the children that they are the out group in the community. This may account for the trend to agree with the statement that blacks often hurt other people's feelings.

The data which implies a tendency toward racial separation around fifth grade is consistent with other studies. Criswell found that white children chose blacks less frequently on sociometric tests after fifth grade. Allport stated that fourth grade is the stage of total rejection

of the out group. Perhaps black children when in the majority tend to reject white children around this age. This study does not confirm the rejection of blacks by white children around fourth grade. There were no inverse correlations between age or grade and attitude. The question of group formation in interracial communities during fifth grade may be a fruitful one for further investigation.

Perhaps the most startling and unexpected finding of this study was that the white children in the community are not clear about who is black and who is white. The extent to which this is true is not known because the question was not part of the research design and discovered accidently. The literature is very clear that children perceive race accurately around five years of age. The children tend to describe blacks as tan, dark tan, brown or dark brown. Two tan children were identified as white. A white skinned child who has a black father was described as white. Children in the community may not share the American standard that he who has a known black ancestor is black. Several children described tan children as white. One child thought Teddy Roosevelt was black; another that Jews are half black, half white. These children may show confusion about racial identification because the community shows all the ambiguities of the American racial situation in people who call themselves black, but range in color through every hue from white to dark brown. In this community, race may not be as salient an issue for children as in other places in the

country and thus the motivation to learn early to label people racially is lessened.

Limitations

It is important to remember that the public school sample is the entire population of white public school children in the community in grades three through six. The private school sample is not the population. At least one private school child was not included because he was discovered after the study was finished. There may have been more. The parents of at least eleven white children in private schools in the appropriate grades refused to participate. One private school child refused to participate. These twelve children are about one-quarter of the potential white private school population. Thus, the private school sample is a biased one and the direction of the bias can only be speculated on. From their reasons for refusal, it seems that as a group they may be less concerned with or curious about the effect on white children to interracial living. This assumption seems particularly valid for those families who said they were too busy. This group of children may have very limited contact with black children, especially those children who attend almost totally white schools. At least one family stated that their experiences were so negative that they did not want to discuss them.

Because the study is not a random sampling of white children in interracial communities, its results cannot be generalized easily to all such communities. The study does show, however, that blacks and

whites can live amicably together.

Suggestions for Further Research

It is hoped that this study will stimulate further research on the white child in interracial communities and in situations in which he is a minority. The study of personality factors as they relate to adaptation may provide much information that can be used to foster healthy adaptations, especially in the white minority child. Permission for observational studies might be arranged through National Neighbors or appropriate school systems. It is clear from this study that parents in self consciously interracial communities are most willing to participate in such research.

Further research is needed to explore the relationship between sex and racial attitude. Is it universally true that white boys and black girls have the least positive attitudes toward the other group? What are the important variables associated with this? In communities which are self consciously integrated, does minority status tend to wash this difference out for white children? If so, why?

Perhaps the most interesting question raised by this study for future research is whether the experience in this community indicates that there is a tendency for black-white relations to take on the character of relations between other ethnic groups in this country.

More information is also needed on the differences of quality and quantity of time white children in interracial communities spend with black children.

Summary of Major Findings

The community studied demonstrates that blacks and whites can live together amicably when both groups are present in about equal numbers. The children go to school and play together. The white children perceive blacks as worthwhile people. It may be that homogeneity in social class for blacks and whites is important in predicting the success of interracial communities.

Some white children do experience difficulties similar to those of black children when they are among white children who are a minority group at the public school. The public school children are also likely to assume black speech patterns and mannerisms and to show other evidence of wanting to be part of the larger black group.

There is evidence in this study that race is less important in this community than elsewhere in the United States. There are many close, interracial friendships. Some of the children are not concerned enough about who is black and who is white to learn to assign everyone to a racial category. Groups formed on a racial basis in this community may have the character of ethnic divisions which are common to our country in general.

It may be that black and white children raised in communities like this one will be the ones who begin to work out solutions to the

American dilemma of racial division anu animosity.

APPENDIX A

Washington, D.C.
September 23, 1975

Dear National Neighbor:

I am your neighbor in Washington, D. C. and am writing you because of our mutal interest in fostering interracial living.

My master of social work thesis (NCSSS, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.) concerns the racial attitudes and interactions of the white children in part of the North Washington Neighbors, Inc. area.

As there is little in the literature on white children in racially mixed neighborhoods, anything you could add might contribute substantially to the pool of knowledge. I wonder if you have any information on the effect of interracial living on the white children in your area.

I am interested in any information you might have. Particularly, I would like to know about the attitudes of the white children toward blacks. If some of your schools are predominantly black, do you have any information on the white children+s adaptation to minority status in those schools.

If no data have been collected in your community, perhaps you will answer the following questions.

1. What grades are included in the elementary schools in your area, e.g., kindergarten through 6, 1 through 8, etc.

2. What is the approximate racial composition of the elementary schools in your area?

3. How many predominately black elementary schools are there in your community?

4. What is the approximate white population, by percentage in each school?

In anticipation of your prompt reply, I remain

Sincerely,

Barbara Libarkin (Mrs.)

APPENDIX B

Informed Consent

This research project will be my thesis for a master's degree in social work from Catholic University. I will ask your child to answer several short questionnaires. This will take about 10 minutes. I will ask you about your child's experiences in this neighborhood which will take about 40 minutes. With your permission, I will tape our conversation.

All information is strictly confidential. No names or other identifying information will be used nor will information on a specific child be released. A copy of the final thesis will be available to any participant who is interested.

Barbara Libarkin

APPENDIX C

Identifying number (1)_____

Identifying number (2-3)_____

1. Sex (4)_____

2. Age (5)_____

3. Grade (6)_____

4. Please write the first names of the four children you play with the most. (7)_____

5. They work hard (8)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

6. They make good teachers. (9)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

7. I would like to live next door to them (10)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

8. It is easy to be friends with them. (11)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

9. I would like to have them come to eat at my house. (12)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

10. They are good neighbors. (13)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

11. They often hurt other people's feelings. (14)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

12. I would be will to marry one of them when I grow up. (15)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

13. I would like to be in a club or on a team with them. (16)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

14. They are honest. (17)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

15. They have done a lot to help our country. (18)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

16. I would not want to ask any of them to a party. (19)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

17. I would like to go on a picnic with them. (20)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

18. They are pretty dumb. (21)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

19. They get excited over little things. (22)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

20. I would like to have one for my teacher next year. (23)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

21. It is a waste of money to send them to college. (24)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

22. I would like to see one of them get elected President of the United States. (25)_____
agree mostly agree mostly disagree disagree

APPENDIX D

Questionnaire

23. How far did father go in school? (26)_____

1 - High school graduate or less
2 - Some college
3 - Bachelor's degree
4 - Bachelor's degree plus
5 - Master's degree
6 - Master's degree plus
7 - Doctorate

24. What is father's occupation? (27)_____

1 - Higher Executives of large concerns, proprietors, major professionals
2 - Business managers, proprietors of medium sized businesses, lesser professionals
3 - Administrative personnel, owners small businesses, minor professionals
4 - Clerical & Sales workers, technicians, owners of little businesses
5 - Skilled manual employees
6 - Machine operators, semi-skilled employees
7 - Unskilled employees

25. How far did mother go in school? (28)_____

See 23 above

26. What is mother's occupation? (29)_____

See 24 above

27. How long have you lived in this neighborhood? (30)_____

1 - 1 year or less
2 - 2 years
3 - 3 years
4 - 4 years
5 - 5 years
6 - 6 years
7 - 7 years
8 - 8 years
9 - 9 years or more

28A. Did you ever live in a racially mixed neighborhood before you moved here? (31)_____

1 - No
2 - Yes

28B. Where was the last interracial neighborhood in which you lived before you moved here? How long did you live there? (32)_____

See 27 above

28C. What was the racial composition of the neighborhood? (33)_____

1 - less than 20% non-white, both parents
2 - 20% to 50% non-white, both parents
3 - over 50% non-white, both parents
4 - less than 20% non-white, father only
5 - 20% to 50% non-white, father only
6 - over 50% non-white, father only
7 - 20% to 50% non-white, mother only
8 - 20% to 50% non-white, mother only
9 - over 50% non-white, mother only

28D. What were the economic characteristics of the blacks (orientials, chicanos, etc.) and whites? (34)_____

1 - similar for both races
2 - whites were more prosperous than blacks
3 - blacks were more prosperous than whites

28E. Did you have interracial experiences outside the neighorhoods in which you lived bofore you moved here? (35)_____

1 - No (36)_____
2 - father &/or mother attended racially mixed school
3 - father &/or mother active in civil rights movement, volunteer or employed (37)_____
4 - father &/or mother employed in non-civil rights interracial setting
5 - Other

29B. How long did you live in the interracial neighborhood you lived in before the one you just told me about? (38)_____

See 27 above

29C. What was the racial composition of the neighborhood? (39)_____

See 28C above

29D. What were the economic characteristics of the blacks (orientals, chicanos, etc.) and whites? (40)_____

See 28D above

30B. Did you live in an interracial neighborhood before that? (41)_____

See 27 above

30C. What was the racial composition of the neighborhood? (42)_____

See 28C above

30D. What were the economic characteristics of the blacks (orientals, chicanos, etc.) and whites? (43)_____

See 28D above

30E. Did you live in an interracial neighborhood before that? (44)_____

1 - No
2 - Yes

31A. Why did you move here? Did you see the Neighbors, Inc. ad or otherwise learn of Neighbors, Inc.? (45)_____

1 - No
2 - Yes

31B. Main Reason (46)_____

1 - City living, includes convenient public transportation, close to downtown, population mixed for age
2 - Racial integration
3 - Physically attractive area
4 - Housing cheaper than elsewhere for comparable housing
5 - To be with people alike politically
6 - Tolerance of individual differences
7 - Sense of community
8 - Resident before blacks moved into area
9 - Other

31C. Second reason (47)_____

See 31B above

31D. Third reason (48)_____

See 31B above

31E. Fourth reason (49)_____

See 31B above

32. Do most of your family activity take place in the neighborhood or elsewhere? This questic includes church, club and social visiting activities. (50)_____

1 - Less than half in the neighborhood
2 - Half in the neighborhood; half out
3 - More than half in the neighborhood

33. How would you rate your child's academic progress? (51)_____

1 - Good, neither because of, nor spite of school
2 - Good, because of school
3 - Good, in speite of school
4 - Adequate, neither because of, nor in spite of school
5 - Adequate, because of school
6 - Adequate, in spite of school
7 - Poor, neither because of, nor in spite of school
8 - Poor, because of school
9 - Poor, in spite of school

34A. How would you describe your child's social situation? (52)_____

1 - Has many playmates, black and white
2 - Plays almost exclusively with many whites
3 - Plays almost exclusively with many blacks
4 - Plays with a few children, black and white
5 - Plays with a few children, mainly white
6 - Plays with a few children, mainly black
7 - Isolated, rarely plays with other children

34B. Does your child visit black homes? Does he sometimes eat at the homes of black children? (53)_____

1 - Does not visit black homes
2 - Visits black homes, but does not eat there
3 - Visits and eats in black homes
4 - Visits and is visited by blacks. The children eat in each other homes
5 - Visits and is visited by blacks
6 - Blacks visit home of child who does not visit black homes
7 - Don't know

34C. Does your child invite blacks to parties? Is he invited to parties by blacks? (54)_____

1 - Does not invite blacks to parties and is not invied to parties by blacks
2 - Invites blacks and is invited to parties by blacks
3 - Invites blacks, but is not invited to parties by blacks
4 - Does not invite blacks, but is invited to parties by blacks
5 - Neither gives nor attends parties
6 - Don't know

34D. How close do most of your child's playmates live? (55)_____

1 - Within 2 blocks
2 - Within 1/2 mile
3 - Within a mile
4 - Further than 1 mile

34E. Was his social situation different in the past (56)_____

1 - No
2 - Played with more children, black and white
3 - Played with more black children
4 - Played with more white childre
5 - Played with fewer children, black and white
6 - Played with fewer white children
7 - Played with fewer black children

34F. Would you describe your child as generally active or generally quite? (57)_____

1 - Quiet
2 - Active
3 - Both active and quiet

34G. Does your child act differently in a black group than in a white one? (58)_____

1 - No
2 - Speech changes
3 - Mannerisms change
4 - Speech and mannerisms change
5 - Black speech patters and mannerisms always present
6 - Other

35. What effect, if any, does living in a racially mixed neighborhood (and attending a majority black school) have on your child? (59)_____

1 - None (60)_____
2 - Greater racial tolerance
3 - Less racial tolerance
4 - Greater racial awareness (61)_____
5 - Exposed to prejudice against whites
6 - Has become bicultural (62)_____
7 - Negative effect on self esteem
8 - Positive effect on self esteem
9 - Other

36. If you could change the racial composition of the neighborhood (or Shepherd School), would you? (63)_____

1 - No
2 - Whiter
3 - Blacker
4 - Whiter school, no change in neighborhood

37. (For private school children only) Did your child ever attend Shepherd School? Why did you withdraw him? (64)_____

1 - No (65)_____
2 - Academic difficulties
3 - Racial difficulties
4 - Social difficulties
5 - Shepherd was adequate, but private school better
6 - Kindergarten only
7 - Other

38. Is there anything about your child's experience in interracial living that we haven't talked about which you would like to share with me?

Code into above categories.

TABLE 10

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE COMMUNITY PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL GRADES 1 TO 6, OCTOBER 1971 TO 1975 INCLUSIVE

	1971*	1972*	1973	1974	1975
TOTAL	492	435	401	407	381
BLACK (BLACK OR NEGRO)	353	342	321	321	310
OTHERS (WHITE OR CAUCASIAN)	139	93	68	79	66
SPAINSH SURNAMED (HISPANIC)			4	5	3
ASIANS (ORIENTIAL OR PACIFIC ISLANDER)			7	2	1
AMERICAN INDIAN (AMERICAN INDIAN OR ALASKAN NATIVE)			1	0	1
OTHER OR WHITE AS A PERCENT OF THE TOTAL	26%	21%	17%	19%	17%

*During 1971 and 1972, racial categories included only black and others.

[1] Categories in parentheses used in 1975.

TABLE 11

RACIAL COMPOSITIN OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SCHOOL SYSTEM
GRADES 1 TO 6, OCTOBER 1974 AND SEPTEMBER 1975

	1974	1975
TOTAL	62, 988	59,723
BLACK (BLACK OR NEGRO)	59,833	56,466
OTHERS (WHITE OR CAUCASIAN)	2,339	2,422
SPANISH SURNAMED (HISPANIC)	518	452
ASIANS (ORIENTALS OR PACIFIC ISLANDERS)	292	371
AMERICAN INDIAN (AMERICAN INDIAN OR ALASKAN NATIVE)	6	12
OTHER OR WHITE AS A PERCENT OF THE TOTAL	3.71%	4.06%

[1] Categories in parentheses used in 1975.

TABLE 12

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE BY RACE* OF THE COMMUNITY

Totals are for employed men and women over 16

Total All Races 2646		Total Black 1440		Total Other 1206	
	Total	Black	Other	%Black	%Other
(1) Professional & Kindred, Managerial and Administrative	1512	837	675	58.1	56.0
(2) Sales and Clerical	658	298	360	20.7	29.8
(3) Craftsmen, Foremen & Kindred, Operatives incl. Transport	153	99	54	6.9	4.5
(4) Laborers and Farm Workers	34	34	0	2.3	0.0
(5) Service Workers and Private Household Workers	289	172	117	12.0	9.7
	2649	1440	1206	100.0	100.0

*Based on 1970 Census Block Statistics

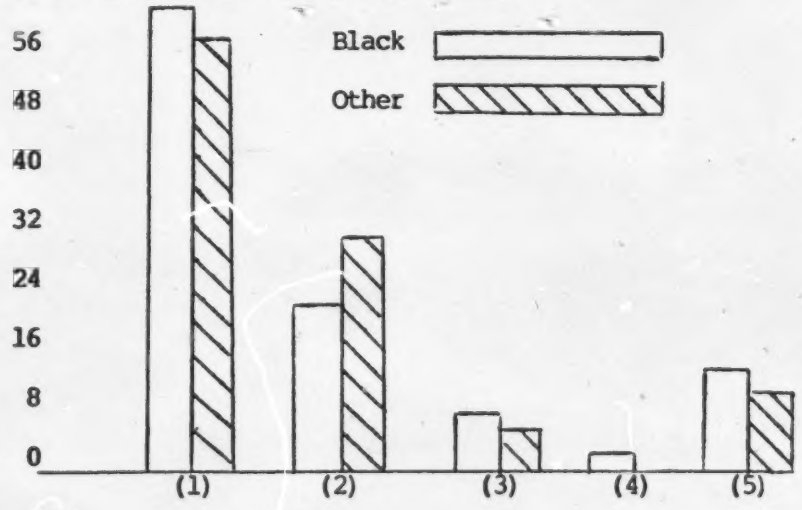

TABLE 13

REFUSALS TO PARTICIPATE IN STUDY

Name	Type of Private School	Length of Residence in Community	Reasons for Refusal
A	Religious	17 years	Study would be an invasion of privacy. Family will not answer questions on race or religion.
B	Religious	14 years	Mother has too much feeling about blacks who have hurt and harrassed her children. She feels family has been denied the benefits of the community.
C	Secular	6 years	Attitude scale might have negative effect by causing child to become unduly race conscious.
D	Religious	15 years	Child claimed to have been in two master's studies and does not want to participate in any more.
E	Religious	10 years	Mother and children are too busy.
F	Religious	9 years	Study might sensitize children to think interracial living is other than the norm.
G	Religious	8 years	Mother eager to participate. Child refused.
H	Secular	no data, more than 8 years	Family is too busy to participate.

TABLE 14

RESPONSES TO ATTITUDE SCALE BY ITEM

	Statement	0*	1	2	3	4	Mean	Standard Deviation
1.	They work hard.		2	3	43	35	3.337	.668
2.	They make good teachers.		1	3	38	41	3.487	.628
3.	I would like to live next door to them.		2	6	28	47	3.446	.737
4.	It is easy to be friends with them.		4	5	38	36	3.277	.786
5.	I would like to have them come to eat at my house.		2	9	29	43	3.361	.774
6.	They are good neighbors.		1	5	31	46	3.470	.669
7.	They often hurt other people's feelings.		9	12	34	28	2.976	.962
8.	I would be willing to marry one of them when I grow up.	1	22	14	26	20	2.537	1.135
9.	I would like to be in a clud or on a team with them.		0	5	26	52	3.566	.609
10.	They are honest.		3	1	50	29	3.265	.664
11.	They have done a lot to help our country		3	3	27	50	3.494	.739
12.	I would not want to ask any of them to a party.		0	0	16	67	3.807	.397

*No response.

2

	Statement	0*	1	2	3	4	Mean	Standard Deviation
13.	I would like to go on a picnic with them.		1	3	28	51	3.554	.630
14.	They are pretty dumb.		0	3	21	59	3.675	.543
15.	They get excited over litte things.		6	9	38	30	3.108	.870
16.	I would like to have one for my teacher next year.	1	2	10	31	39	3.305	.781
17.	It is a waste of money to send them to college.		0	2	12	69	3.807	.454
18.	I would like to see one of them get elected President of the United States.		3	1	24	55	3.578	.701

Scaling Key: Items 1-6, 8-11, 13, 16 and 18

4 = Agree
3 = Mostly Agree
2 = Mostly Disagrees
1 = Disagree

Items 7, 12, 14-15 and 17

4 = Disagree
3 = Mostly Disagree
2 = Mostly Agree
1 = Agree

TABLE 15

SOCIAL CLASS OF PARTICIPATING FAMILIES*

Class	Public School	Private School
I	21	19
II	13	5
III	2	0
IV	0	1
V	1	0
Total	37	25

*Based on "Two-Factor Index of Social Position," August B. Hollingshead, mimeographed.

TABLE 16

PREVIOUS EXPERIENCES IN INTERRACIAL LIVING

Characteristics of the Community	Number of previous experiences 1	2	3
Less than 20% non-white	19	11	5
20-50% non-white	20	7	4
Over 50% non-white	25	10	6
Non-whites and whites similar economically	30*	10**	3**
Non-whites less prosperous than whites	24*	22**	11**
Mean number of years in the community	3.46	3.18	5.
Standard deviation	2.49	2.56	3.09

*2 don't know responses

**1 don't know response

There were fifteen children in families where parents lived in more than four interracial neighborhoods.

The mean number of years of residence in the community studied for children was 6.94 years, standard deviation 4.304, median 6.545.

TABLE 17

CHILDREN IN FAMILIES WITH PRIOR INTERRACIAL EXPERIENCE

Activity	Number of Children
Attended racially mixed school[1]	61 (73.5%)
Worked for civil rights organization or active as in volunteer civil rights	33 (39.8%)
Worked with blacks	67 (80.7%)
Other	24 (28.9%)

[1] From grammar school through college. Generally whites were the majority group.

TABLE 18

REASONS FOR ENTERING COMMUNITY

Reason	Rank of Reason 1	2	3	4	Total
City living	15	34	15	5	69
Racial integration	26	12	6	17	61
Neighborhood pretty	11	13	21	11	56
To be with politically like people	0	0	2	0	2
Tolerance of individual differences	0	0	1	1	2
Sense of community	1	2	5	3	11
Resident before racial change	4	0	0	0	4
Other	15	9	12	8	44

Nineteen of thirty-seven public school families listed the quality of the public school as one of their four main reasons for moving into the community.

TABLE 19

FAMILY FREE TIME SPENT IN THE COMMUNITY BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

	Public	Private
More than half in the community	17 (37.8%)	22 (57.9%)
Half in, half out	13 (28.9)	9 (23.7%)
Less than half in the community	15 (33.3%)	7 (18.4%)

Chi-square analysis showed no statistically significant difference between the two groups.

TABLE 20

PARENTAL PERCEPTION OF SCHOOL'S ROLE IN CHILD'S PROGRESS

	Public	Private
Neutral	14 (31.1%)	10 (26.3%)
Helps	25 (55.6%)	28 (73.7%)
Hinders	6 (13.3%)	0

Chi-square analysis showed not statistically significant difference between the two groups.

TABLE 21

USE OF COMMUNITY SCHOOL BY PRIVATE SCHOOL GROUP AND REASONS FOR LEAVING (IF AFTER FIRST GRADE)

Number*	
15	Never attended community school
13	Kindergarten only reasons for leaving
0	Racial reasons
6	Academic reasons
4	Social reasons
1	Public school adequate, private better
5	Other

*Number is greater than private school sample total as some parents gave more than one reason for leaving the school.

TABLE 22

DESIRED CHANGE IN RACIAL COMPOSITION

Number	
41 (49.4%)	No change desired
23 (27.7%)	Wish community were more whites
19 (42.2%)	Wish school were whiter (public school group only)

Where children lived in families which wanted to change racial composition, their families were most likely to want the school or community, especially their immediate area, to be about 40% white.

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